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THE ARAMAIC PAPYRI OF ELEPHANTINE IN ENGLISH

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Although the whole body of Aramaic material from Elephantine at present known had been discovered and published by 1911, no complete English translation of it has yet appeared. This is not altogether discreditable to the scholarship whose medium of expression is the English tongue. The material is for the most part very fragmentary, and even those documents which are not too sadly disfigured offer many and great difficulties to the translator. The time for a definitive rendering has not yet arrived.

Nevertheless the translator and those authorities of the University of Chicago and of this *Journal* who encouraged him believe that it is time for such a rendering as can at present be made to appear in English. Not only theological teachers and students, both in and out of classrooms, but also men interested in history, religion in general, archaeology, ethnology, and sociology, many of whom know no Aramaic, have now for years looked with longing eyes toward these important documents, in which a Jewish outpost on the frontiers of a world-empire of the fifth century B.C. rose from its grave and presented itself to our astonished eyes. For such men as these, in order that they may get as near as possible to the sources, and for any layman who may be interested, these translations have primarily been prepared.

The translations were in large part made some years ago. They have naturally been revised before going to press. The translator dare not say "revised up to date"; for a complete survey of all articles, notes, etc., which have appeared on these papyri is more than almost any one man, certainly more than the translator, can at present accomplish. He has, however, attempted to make judicious use of all the more important material that he has been

able to secure. Nevertheless all his readings and renderings are based, not merely upon the texts published by Sayce and Cowley, Sachau, Ungnad, and Staerk, but also upon the photographic reproductions of the documents themselves in the magnificent volumes of Sayce and Cowley and of Eduard Sachau.

Further introductory remarks are at present less necessary than the presentation of the documents themselves. The most important introductory material will be easily found by the student in the well-known works of Eduard Meyer, Hedwig Anneler, Van Hoonacker, and in the essay by Stanley A. Cook, in this *Journal*;¹ also in the texts published by Staerk, both in Aramaic and in German. He who seeks more detailed information will be led in the right directions for his search by these books and articles.

In the meantime, not indulgence, but assistance is sought for these translations, to make them as widely and as generally useful as possible. If they be found acceptable at all, it is hoped that they may be issued later in book form. Before they are put into final form to this end, it will be possible to make many changes; even radical alterations may be embodied in the form of appended notes. Any request, advice, or criticism looking in this direction will be heartily welcomed and given such consideration as may be possible.

The copious and sometimes extensive footnotes will not, it is hoped, prove disturbing. Such comments have the disadvantage of scattering information and material which, in an introductory statement, might be gathered up to facilitate a rapid survey. On the other hand, too much rapid surveying is perilous, and the footnote commentary has this advantage, that it enables the reader to check up the commentator from the text itself.

A word is needed on the order in which the documents are presented and on the identifying numerals and abbreviations which are printed at their head. In a first division have been gathered up such documents as present information concerning the Jewish community at Elephantine in general, its beginnings, its history, its fate, so far as we know it, its position in the Persian Empire and in the Jewish community at large, etc. This material has been subdivided on the basis of a rather external criterion: (1) documents

¹ Vol. XIX, No. 3 (July, 1915), 346-82.

containing a solid body of text and (2) lists of names (accounts, etc.). Each subsection is arranged chronologically so far as possible. The reader need scarcely be warned that under the first head he may expect to find a rather heterogeneous collection of material, not official documents only. In fact, not a few of these documents would belong, from another point of view, under later heads. Yet, take it all in all, thorough acquaintance with this strange community seemed the first desideratum; hence the character of the first group, which may perhaps be called:

I. Documents of Public Character or Interest.

- A. Varia.
- B. Name lists.

The following sections will present in order:

II. Legal Documents.

- A. The beautifully preserved set of family archives published by Sayce and Cowley under the title *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (hence the abbreviation *APA*).
- B. Related material, chiefly from the Sachau publication (entitled *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, hence *APE*).

III. Private Letters, etc.

IV. Literary Material.

Of this latter, which is very fragmentary, an account interspersed with translations will be offered; a full translation is impossible. By way of an appendix the more important inscriptional material in the Aramaic tongue will be added.

APA are inscribed and quoted, following the original editors, by Roman letters and the number of the line. *APE* are given the papyrus number (not the number of the plate) assigned to them by the original editor. To facilitate identification the Berlin Museum inventory numbers are added in parentheses. Quotations are made by papyrus number, column, where necessary, and line. For the Strassburg Papyrus see No. 10, Introduction. Names of common occurrence in the Old Testament or elsewhere are rendered in the forms in which they are best known. The transcription of Aramaic characters, where used, follows Brockelmann's system slightly

modified: as the transliteration is intended to represent the written characters of the original only, the possible fricative character of *b*, *d*, *g*, *k*, *p*, and *t* has been disregarded; to distinguish two different writings of *s*, one is always transliterated *s*, the other *š*, though it may sometimes have the value of simple *s*.

I. DOCUMENTS OF PUBLIC CHARACTER OR INTEREST

A. VARIA

NO. 1. CONTRACT FOR THE DELIVERY OF GRAIN FOR RATIONS

Two men with Jewish names contract with a man bearing what seems to be an Egyptian name, though his father's name is Jewish, for the delivery of grain. The grain seems destined for Jewish members of the military colony of Syene (?) (see No. 2, *APE* 27) only; cf. note 1, l. 6. Though a legal document of a business character, it is after all of semiofficial nature and throws interesting light on the position of the Jewish contingent in the Persian garrisons of Upper Egypt. It is unusual to find one of the contracting parties as the scribe of such a document taking the dictation of his partner. Compare the following number.

APE Pap. 25 (P. 13493):

On the 28th of the month Phaophi, year 11+(?) of Xerxes, <the
2 king>¹ <Hosea, > | son of *Hudyih*,² and ʾAḥīab, son of
3 Gemariah,³ to ʾEs<p>⁴ | <son of> Hanani,⁵ the
carpenter, as follows: Thou hast delivered upon our hand⁶ bar<ley>
4 | ?8, and lentils, artabae 11 (?), for , artabae |
5/6 all the barley and lentils mixed (?), artabae 54+(?) |

¹ The year is uncertain. To the writer's mind, judging from the photograph, 3 is the most likely number; but 2, and even 12, are also possible. The date would be, accordingly, February 17, 484 or 483, or February 15, 474 B.C. Xerxes is written *Hšjrš*; cf. Esther 1:1, etc.; Dan. 9:1; Ezra 4:6.

² Cf. No. 13=*APE* 15:3: *Hudy*, a hypocoristic form.

³ Cf. No. 13=*APE* 15:5.

⁴ An Egyptian name? cf. *APA* B:11; D:7; *APE* 41:4.

⁵ Cf. No. 4=*APE* 6:2, note 1.

⁶ This seems to be the technical term for delivery of goods to a person, who is not their owner, but a delegated middleman for their transmission to their final destination; cf. l. 13; No. 2=*APE* 26:4, 14; No. 7=8:21.

7 century¹ of *Bīlṭlqm*² 11+? | 2 men; for each man barley,
 8 artabae 2, g³ 2 | . . century of *Nbyshy*,⁴ 2 men, to(?)
 9 barley, artabae | and satisfied are we therewith.⁵ We will
 10 bring the grain | these <tr>oops⁶ of the century of *Bīlṭlqm*
 11 and of *N(?)* | (are) written in this document. We will give
 12 | house of the king⁷ and before the scribes of the storehouse⁸
 13 | upon-our-hand to bring to these men who are written
 14 | to (or for) thee by number⁹ in(to?) the house of the king and
 15 before the scribes of the s<torehouse> | we owe thee the sum of
 16 100 krš, silver, which(?) | (the?) god; and thou hast
 17 authority over¹⁰ our wages, which the house of the king | of

¹ Evidently a more or less permanent unit or subdivision, comprising 100, more or less, of a larger body of men. It seems not to be a military unit, for in the great temple-tax or collection list, *APE* 18, it appears to include women. In any case it is nowhere clearly related to the organization of the Persian army, as is the *dgl*, "colors," "company"; cf. note 4 on No. 14=*APE* 35:2. The word occurs in this sense only in this papyrus, in its duplicate, 26:11, and in 18:1:19 f. Possibly it pertains to the inner organization of the Jewish community and was brought with them from Palestine, where it was well known, both as a factor in military organization, I Sam. 29:2; II Sam. 18:1, 4, and elsewhere in the historical books, and in the later, religious-political organism, Exod. 18:21; cf. Isa. 3:3. It is rather remarkable, in view of *APE* 19, that these Jews should apparently be providing their own rations; yet *APE* 19 seems to contain no Jewish names, or at most one. And the Jewish food laws and Dan. 1:8 come to mind.

² The first element of this compound name is clearly Bethel, "the house of God." The second element is not clear as to its meaning. But a name like Bethelnathan, *APE* 34:4, 5, and probably also 40, Verso:1, makes perfectly clear that these are theophorous names, like Jonathan, Elnathan, meaning "God has given," "Jahweh has given," and "Bethel has given." In short, the house of God has been deified. Of a piece with these names is the oath by the temple and the altar, Matt. 23:16-22; *APE* 32:3. The name in this papyrus and *Bīlṭlqyb* in 17:9 are of precisely the same form. These names are not, as is sometimes stated, of Babylonian origin. Where found in Babylonian literature they are distinctly of West-Semitic origin. Cf. Zech. 7:2.

³ Manifestly a subdivision of the artaba; capacity unknown.

⁴ Clearly a Babylonian name, as are the other two names of centuries, *APE* 18 I:19 f. This does not necessarily mean that the institution was of Babylonian origin, nor that the original bearers of the names were Babylonians; cf. l. 7, n. 8.

⁵ Perhaps: "we agreed thereto"; lit. "good or happy is our heart therein."

⁶ Lit. "this force," the word elsewhere rendered "army"; "the army of Syene, of the Jews," etc.

⁷ A government office or bureau, probably; cf. No. 8=*APE* 1/2:3.

⁸ A fixed body of government officials; cf. No. 3=*APE* 4 and No. 7=8 and No. 10=Strassb.

⁹ Or "in minas."

¹⁰ ="claim to" or "upon"; cf. *APA*, *passim*.

ours¹ thou hast authority to seize, until thou shalt be paid in full (*lit.* filled) for
 18 the grain | Hosea has written (it) at the dictation (*lit.* accord-
 19 ing to the mouth) of ²Aḥī²ab. | Witnesses: Kī², son of ²skīšū; Nšk²drī,²
 20 son of N(?) | R(or D)ukl, son of ²Abīhū,³ Šūrī, son of Kdu(?),
 21 ²drī,⁴ son of | ²mydt, son of Jonathan (*ihnin*), Šbtī⁵ son of
 22 Nbr(or d)². | Hosea wrote (it) and ²A <ḥī²a > b for ²Esp.⁶

NO. 2. CONTRACT FOR THE DELIVERY OF GRAIN FOR RATIONS

Though very fragmentary, it is clear that this papyrus is very similar in content to the previous document; in fact, all but an exact duplicate. It is written by the same man on the same date; the contracting parties and the materials contracted for are the same. Perhaps the two are, indeed, duplicates, though not as exact as manifolded or printed copies—one copy having been made for Hūdūih, the other for ²Aḥī²ab. Or does one refer to Syene, the other to Elephantine? This fragment is presented in translation because it furnishes valuable supplementary information to No. 1 (*APE* 25).

APE Pap. 26 (P. 13475):

On the 28th of <Hosea >
 son of <Hū>duih and ²Aḥ <ī²ab > . . .
 to ²Esp. . . .
 upon our hand barley . . .
 5 lentils, artabae 20+?
 all of <the barle>y and lentil<s> . . .
 to men ?5
 lentils, artaba 1
 this gra<in> Syene⁷
 10 in this document
 the century, and the leaders⁸ of
 the grain which thou hast given
 by number (or by minas) in(to?) the house of the ki<ng>
 which thou hast delivered upon <our> hand
 15 which not
 storehou<se>
 (the?) god, silver (or money, or the sum of)
 and a house of bricks
 of mine th<ou hast autho>rity to s<eize>

¹ I.e., moneys, goods, houses; cf. other business documents, especially in *APA*, for the terminology.

² An Aramaic name. Lines 19 ff. are written on the back of the sheet.

³ Cf. Exod. 6:23; but also I Sam. 8:2, and II Chron. 13:20.

⁴ See line 19, note 9.

⁵ Ezra 10:15; Neh. 8:7; 11:16.

⁷ Not mentioned in *APE* 25 (No. 1).

⁶ Line 22 is the docket.

⁸ Perhaps captains.

20 which he wrote above
 Hosea wrote (it) in the palms of¹ ʔA <ḥīʔab.>
 Witnesses: Šyri, son of
 Nšk'd <r>ī, son of Nb
 Bgd(or r) . . . , <so>n of ʔsmšd(or r)

NO. 3. FRAGMENT OF AN OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION

Though too fragmentary to determine the exact nature of its content, it is clear enough that several bodies of officials are writing (probably a report) to their superior (probably the satrap, whether the name be Aršam or another). The document is important because it illustrates this type of official communication and the methods and organization of Persian provincial government. The report is always made by a body of men through their chief: X and his associates; cf. Ezra 4:7, 9, 17, 23; 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13 ("companions").

APE Pap. 4 (P. 13480):

<To our lord ʔArša>m²(?) thy servants ʔḥmnš³ and his associates, B(?) . . . and his associates, and the scribes of the district (or circuit).⁴ The welfare of our lord may the gods . . .⁵ | always. To proceed:⁶ To us thou hast made recompense(?) for every portion(?), to wit, what we(?) have given in the district in (the?) place of (or

¹ The unusual expression is literally translated; the usual form of expression is "according to the mouth," i.e., at the dictation; cf. No. 1 (*APE* 25), l. 18, and the end of many other documents. Or is this, after all, a different formula, to indicate a duplicate copy?

² Cf. No. 4=*APE* 6:3, note 4.

³ Probably Achaemenes. A Persian noble? Named after the royal family?

⁴ *Medīnā* is an administrative district, or a judicial (and administrative) circuit—in this case probably a subdivision of a province (Egypt). Two subdivisions of this kind, adjacent to each other, are named in these papyri: *Tštrs*, "The South Canal," No. 10=Strassb. B, 4; *APE* 19 III:7,11; perhaps the one here meant, also; Nô, Thebes, *APE* 19 III:4; perhaps also in the pitiable and untranslatable fragment, Sachau, p. 89e, Ungnad, p. 38; 10(=No. 11):6(?); cf. 15(=No. 13):4; Jer. 46:25; Ezek. 30:14 ff.; Nah. 3:8. Each is named after a prominent landmark near its southern boundary. A similar subdivision of the province "Beyond the River" (Ezra 4:10 f., etc.), the Roman Syria, was "the province of Judah" (Ezra 5:8; cf. 2:1; Neh. 1:3; 11:3, etc.), the Roman Judaea; it was, however, less closely united with the greater province of which it was a part, and had a "governor" of its own. A whole province or satrapy may also be so designated, Esther 1:1 and *passim*. Later the word comes to mean city; cf. "a city of Judah," Luke 1:39; see Torrey, *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to . . . Toy*, pp. 290 ff.

⁵ Supply "provide for," etc., a common formula of salutation; cf. these papyri, *passim*.

⁶ A common formula of introduction; cf. these papyri, *passim*.

- 3 which) | . . defined species by species, month by month, they
 used to send to me.¹ Also a letter² was written (and) given to us.
 4 No <w?> | (line 4 is too fragmentary to make sense;
 what followed, if anything, is torn away. Lines 5-8 are on the back
 of the sheet and contain merely the elaborate address of an official
 5 communication to a superior and the date): | <To> our lord ʾAršam(?)
 <thy serva>nts ʾhmnš and his associates, the ʾzdkr,³ B |
 6 Hryš(?)⁴ and his associates, the scribes of the distr<ict>
 7 | . . retainer⁵ of Šin(?) . . , the ʾzdkr, their associate, on the
 19th of Marcheshwan, year 37 of Artaxerxe<s the king>.⁶
 8 and completed (? This word only is written in this line, at its end, under
 "Artaxerxes" of line 7. What followed, if anything, is broken away.)

NO. 4. A RESCRIPT CONCERNING THE FEAST OF UNLEAVENED
 BREAD (AND PASSOVER?)

This important document is unfortunately very fragmentary. It is addressed on the face of it by a certain Hananiah, possibly the brother of Nehemiah, who has come to Egypt (for this express purpose?), to the Jewish community at Elephantine. It is a matter of dispute whether Hananiah came as a messenger from the king to Aršam, satrap of Egypt, in another matter and then (on his own initiative?) brought the law of the feast or feasts in question with him from Jerusalem, or whether Hananiah imposes this law of the feast on the Elephantine Jews under the authority of, perhaps in

¹ Torrey: Thou hast sent word to us concerning all(?) the tribute which thou hast imposed in the province, wherever [thou hast appointed(?)], saying: A detailed, classified report ye shall send to me month by month.

² Some specific kind of letter? A Persian word, not the common word for an ordinary letter in these papyri; the same word is used, rendered "letter," Ezra 4:7; 18:23; 5:5; 7:11.

³ = "verifiers" (?); perhaps auditors of public accounts. Others: publishers or announcers of official edicts, rescripts, and other communications; but see *APE* No. 7=8:4, note 8.

⁴ Cf. II Kings 21:19.

⁵ The same word in No. 5=*APE* 11:4:8; see l. 8, note 2. Supply before it: "Wrote this document X" (son of X?).

⁶ November 428 B.C. The king's name is written ʾrthššš; cf. Ezra and Nehemiah, *passim*.

the name of, the king. The translator inclines to the latter view. Jerusalem and Palestine are nowhere mentioned in the papyrus. The instructions have a ring of authority, which the only document we have from Palestine, *APE* 3 = No. 9, does not exhibit. *APE* 8 = No. 7 cannot be used to illustrate "what such an official rescript would have looked like"; it is indeed an official order, but on a wholly different matter and of a wholly different type. It must be clear at the outset that, though the king had authorized the use of his name and power for this document, yet neither the king in person nor his central governmental bureau need have issued specific edicts on religious details. This edict is issued by Hananiah in person; that is clear beyond a doubt. But if Hananiah was the authorized representative and plenipotentiary (in this matter) of the king, as was Nehemiah, Neh. 2:1-8, not to mention the rather doubtful case of Ezra, Ezra 7:11-26, then the weight of the king's authority would be behind such edicts. The part of Arsām, satrap of Egypt, in the affair would be parallel to that of "the governors beyond the River" (the governors of the province "Beyond the River") and of "Asaph the keeper of the king's forest" in Neh. 2:7-9. He would recognize Hananiah's authority by safe conduct and non-interference, and, perhaps, by special orders releasing the Jewish soldiers from duty on specific occasions, and the like. But he would, of course, not issue an order prescribing the time and manner of celebrating a Jewish feast. Torrey considers this a festal letter: cf. II Macc., chap. 1. If Passover was mentioned in this document, it must have been in a portion now lost. The Passover itself is mentioned in *APE* 77, 2, obv., 5; *not* in the ostracon published *PSBA*, XXXIII, 183 f.; cf. *JBL*, XXXI (1912), 13, note 9.

APE Pap. 6 (P. 13464):

1/2 <To my brethr>en(?), | <Id>*nih* and his associates (and?) the
<J>ewish <army> your brother Hanan<iah>.¹ The welfare of

¹ The name occurs first in the Old Testament in Jer., chap. 28, *passim*; also in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel. See especially Neh. 1:2; 7:2 (Nehemiah's brother; Hanani is a hypocoristic form; the same form occurs I Kings 16:1, 7 in a late legend in duplicate; cf. II Chron. 16:7; 19:2; 20:34). See also No. 5 = *APE* 11:7, 8.

3 my brethren may God¹ | To proceed: This year, the year 5 of
 Darius² the king, (a rescript was) sent³ from the king to ʾArša <m⁴>
 4 . . . | ⁵ Now do you count thus: Fou <rteen> |
 5 <ma>ke (or <d>o)(?), and from the 15th day to the
 6 21st day of <Nisan> . . . | be clean(?)⁶ and take heed!
 7 N<o> work <shall ye do> . . . | ⁷ <n>ot shall ye
 drink, and everything whatsoever that h<as> leaven <in it> . . . |
 8 (ll. 8–11 on the back of the sheet) the setting of the sun
 9 until the 21st day of Nis<an> . . . | <t>ake into
 10 your chambers and seal (or lock up) between the days (of?) . . . |

¹ The plural, as in No. 3=APE 4:1 and elsewhere in these papyri; but here certainly the majestic plural, as in the Old Testament, indicating no plurality of gods, whatever its origin may have been.

² Written *Driḡhyš*; cf. Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah, *passim*; Neh. 12:22; also Dan. 6:1; 9:1; 11:1.

³ This is the usual meaning of the word “send” in these documents: to send a letter, a notice, an official communication, i.e., a rescript. One may also read: “having been sent , <I announce to you>” or the like (*JBL*, XXXI, 1912, 1–33); but this reading is not as certain as Professor Arnold assumes. His own reference to Nöldeke’s *Syriac Grammar*, and these very papyri (e.g., 8(=No. 7):6) show that, when so construed, the participle is usually—in the examples known to the translator always—preceded by a particle (conjunction: “when,” “after,” “because,” and the like). Torrey: “I have been sent by the king to ʾA. <and I have brought from Jerusalem the (customary) festal greeting from your brethren the Jew>s.” A further possible reading would be: “a messenger <was sent or arrived> from the king.” It is not certain that Hananiah, even though this Hananiah may be Nehemiah’s brother, was ever, much less that he had lately been, at the king’s court. The date, incidentally, is 419/8 B.C.; the instructions must, of course, apply to the following (Passover-) Maṣṣoth, in Nisan 418.

⁴ Quite evidently the satrap. If his name is to be read APE 4=No. 3, he must have been in office under Artaxerxes I in the year 428. If he is the Ἀρξάνης mentioned by Ktesias (*Recueil d’Archéol. orient.*, VI, 230), then the accession of Darius II did indeed find him already in office. He is first clearly mentioned here in 418. He is further mentioned in APE 1/2 (=No. 8):4, 30; 3(=No. 9):3; 8(=No. 7):1, 22, 27; 10(=No. 11):5, 8, 9, 14. APE 3 certainly, and APE 10 probably, are to be dated at the end of 407 or later, to about 405–4. The title “satrap” does not occur in these papyri. The address is, “Our Lord.”

⁵ The remnant of the word preceding “Now” has been read as the ending of <“the Jew>s.” This is quite possible; but possible also are other readings, e.g., Egyptians, God, heaven, the ancients or forebears, etc.

⁶ Or perhaps: “<be ye r>esting.”

⁷ Probably “Egyptian beer”; cf. Mishna, Pesahim 3:1.

11 ?? . | <To> my brethren, *Idnîh* and his associates,
(and?) the Jewish army, your brother Hananiah.¹

NO. 5. A LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

The men to whom this letter is addressed are evidently well-known characters and leaders of the Jewish community at Elephantine. They are not officials of the Persian government, but simply leaders, chosen or accepted by common consent, within the Jewish community, which formed a part of the Persian forces stationed at Elephantine and Syene. The leading figure, *Idnîh* (cf. Neh. 3:7), is frequently mentioned (*APE* 1/2 (= No. 8):4, 22; 5 (= No. 12):1; 6 (= No. 4):2, 11; 10 (= No. 11):1; in this papyrus; 15 (= No. 13):5; 18 VII:2; and perhaps in one or two minor fragments). He occupies within the community a position akin to that of the later Jewish ethnarchs. Uriah is named beside this *Idnîh* in No. 11 = *APE* 10:1, also. The writer of this letter, *M^cuzîh*, too, is named in this little group of leaders in *APE* 10:1, 17; 5 (= No. 12):2.

The Jahweh priests of Elephantine are mentioned in only one other document, the great petition *APE* 1/2 = No. 8. Their names are found here only, unless the Mattan of the fragment *APE* 71, 3:1 be identical with this priest Mattan. In that case the priest Mattan would seem to have been enrolled in the army, belonging to a *dgl* (cf. note on No. 14 = *APE* 35:3).

The Hananiah here mentioned is in all probability the writer of *APE* 6 = No. 4. This Egyptian Jew's opinion of him and his activities is interesting. 'Anani, of whom the writer expects so much, is probably identical with the 'Anani who receives prominent mention in No. 8 = *APE* 1/2:19, and with the one who signed and wrote (?) *APE* 8 = No. 7. He may have been chief secretary in the central secretarial bureau of the satrapy; in any case he was

¹ Line 11 is, of course, the address. On the whole cf. Lev. 23:4-8 (Holiness Code) and Exod. 12:1-20; cf. vss. 21-36. After all it may not have been any disrespect shown by the Jews to the rams of Khnum, but rather the tale of the Exodus and the attempt to purify and bring back the Gôlah, i.e., the Dispersion, from Egypt as well as from other lands, which caused trouble for the Jews of Syene at the hands of both Egyptians and Persians, in spite of "the Jewish army's" steadfast loyalty to the Persian cause, while signs of restlessness and the coming revolt were increasing among the Egyptians. There is no evidence that the sacrifice of rams caused trouble; *APE* 15 = No. 13 *does*, perhaps, justify the assumption here made.

a scribe or secretary of some prominence in this bureau, who was supposed to have some influence with the satrap. Perhaps one or the other of the 'Ananis mentioned in *APA* and *APE* may bear some relation to him.

This papyrus, which mentions troubles caused to Jews in Egypt by Hananiah, is the first in which we hear of ill-will shown to these Jews by the army commander *Uidrng*, another straw pointing in the direction of the supposition expressed in note 9 on No. 4 (*APE* 6):11. This document is, further, the only bit of evidence we have that the authority of the military commander of Yeb-Syene extended to Abydos, though this lay in a different judicial circuit and district of civil administration (see note on l. 11).

The true nature of this letter was first recognized by Professor W. R. Arnold of Andover Theological Seminary; see his article in the *JBL*, quoted in the notes here and under No. 4 (*APE* 6).

APE Pap. 11 (P. 13494):

To my lords *Idnîh*, Uriah, and the priests of the god *Ihy*, Mattan,¹
 2 son of *Išbîh*,² and Neriah,³ son of . . . | your(?) servant *M^cuzîh*.⁴
 3 The welfare of my lords . . . be ye unto favor before | the
 God of heaven. To proceed: When *Uidrng*, the army-commander,
 arrived at Abydos, he imprisoned me, because of a certain precious
 4 stone, which, | it was found, had been stolen by the traders. Finally
*Šh*⁵ and Hôr,⁵ young men of 'Anani's, exerted themselves with *Uidrng* |
 5 and *Hrnupî*⁶ under the protection (*lit.* shadow) of the God of heaven,
 until they had delivered me. Now, behold, they are coming thither to
 6 you. Do you look after them, | whatever they may desire. And with
 regard to anything, which *Šh* <and> Hôr may ask of you, do you
 meet (*lit.* stand before) them in such manner, that a thing to blame |

¹ Jer. 38:1; II Kings 11:18; II Chron. 23:17; cf. also Mattenai, in Ezra and Nehemiah, and Mattaniah, in II Kings, I and II Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

² I Chron. 4:35.

³ Jer. 32:12, and *passim* thereafter.

⁴ Probably Ma^cuziah; perhaps I Chron. 23:18; Neh. 10:8, also, instead of Maaziah.

⁵ Egyptian names.

⁶ An Egyptian name, probably to be pronounced Hôr-nûft = *Hr-nfr* = Horus is good. Probably a local official, subordinate, or, at least, inferior in rank to *Uidrng*; he evidently had something to do with the jailing of *M^cuzîh*. The Egyptians, here as elsewhere, are found in subordinate positions only.

7 they may not find with you. To you (is known?) the affliction(?),¹
 which without cause has rested upon us, since Ḥananiah came to Egypt
 8 until now. | And whatsoever ye do for Ḥôr, for your <selves> ye are
 doing it. Ḥôr is Ḥananiah's young man.² Do you sell cheaply from
 9 our houses | any goods that are at hand. Whether³ we lose or whether
 we do not lose, it is one to you. To explain why (*lit.* in that) I am
 10 sending (notice) to you— | he said to me: Send (word by) a letter before
 us. Even if we lose, a deposit⁴ will be established with his arrival⁵ in
 11 'Anani's house; what ye do | for him will not be hidden from 'Anani. |
 12 To my lords *Idniḥ*, Uriah, and the priests, and the Jews, who (*or*
 of) *M'uziḥ*, son of *Ṣḥ*⁶ (? ?).⁶

¹ Arnold, see note 2; probably correct.

² In spite of Professor Arnold, whose excellent reading and rendering of this papyrus (*JBL*, XXXI, Part I, 1912; cf. No. 4.=*APE* 6) are here largely followed, this is probably the correct rendering of a troublesome word, both here and in line 4. Arnold's "an acquaintance of" would be an Arabism pure and simple, whose existence elsewhere in Aramaic has not been proven. Moreover, in No. 3=*APE* 4:7 the meaning "acquaintance of" for exactly the same word is practically out of the question. In the meaning "young man," however, the word is a good and well-known Aramaic term. It need not mean "hired servant," but rather "belonging to the personal following of, and therefore under the protection of, and doing occasional service for, i.e., a retainer." This would account for their influence with *Uḍrng* and *Hrnṣṣi*; for they had the ear of 'Anani and Ḥananiah, both connected with the central bureau of the Persian government in Egypt (see *APE* 6 (=No. 4) and 8(=No. 7), cf. 1/2 (=No. 8):18 f.), and therefore close to the all-powerful satrap, Aršam. And this, together with the service rendered to *M'uziḥ*, is quite sufficient to explain the deferential reception accorded to these subordinates of subordinates by the Jewish community of Yeb-Elephantine. The conception outlined would also obviate the objection of others, that one and the same Ḥôr could not be the *ʿim* of both 'Anani and Ḥananiah, and that, therefore, the Ḥôr here mentioned must be a different personage from the Ḥôr connected with *Ṣḥ* in lines 4 and 6—a really quite impossible supposition in view of lines 10 and 11.

³ Lit. "whatsoever."

⁴ Or "treasure"; Arnold: "credit." He means gratitude and good repute.

⁵ Lit. "after him"; Arnold: "because of him."

⁶ Line 12 is the address. The last name is very uncertain; cf. No. 12=*APE* 5:2. The date of this undated letter of recommendation can be approximately determined by two fairly eminent personages mentioned, Ḥananiah and *Uḍrng*. The former necessitates a date some little time after 419/8; compare No. 4=*APE* 6 with line 7 above. The latter, with his title "army-commander," or "commander of the army," demands a date before 410; for, while he had been "commander of the army" since 420 (cf. *APA* H:4-5; J:4), in 410 (No. 8=*APE* 1/2:7) and for some little time before (No. 6=*APE* 7:7) his son *Nṣin* bore this title, and *Uḍrng* was military governor at Yeb (*APE* 1/2; Strassb.=No. 10). It is interesting to notice, by the way, that, though the civil administration and the judicial circuits recognized the division of upper Egypt into districts of "The South Canal" and the Thebais (see note on No. 3=*APE* 4:2), the policing power of the military authorities at Elephantine-Syene extends to Abydos, well into the middle of the Thebais (cf. Herodotus ii. 30).

NO. 6. AN APPEAL AGAINST A JUDICIAL DECISION?

This document is too fragmentary to allow an exact determination of its nature. The deponent, whose name we do not know, is manifestly complaining of some wrong, which he supposes was done to him, apparently by a sentence or decision of a judge or court. To whom the appeal is made is not quite certain. The "my lord" of line 8 lends color to the supposition that it was made to the satrap Aršam; cf. note on No. 4 (*APE* 6):3. This would accord with the general method of appeal in the empire of the Achaemenians; cf. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, III, pp. 45 f. On the other hand, the plural "my lords" and comparison with No. 5=*APE* 11 is equally possible.

The date, too, is lost, though the years 416 and 410 can be fixed as limits between which it probably belongs. As it seems to indicate, like No. 5=*APE* 11, an increasingly hostile attitude on the part of the Persian commanders against the Egyptian Jews, the two are placed side by side. This arrangement has the further advantage of exhibiting in close proximity to each other the two great official documents of the collection *APE* 8=No. 7 and *APE* 1/2=No. 8.

APE Pap. 7 (P. 13478):

1/2 *ndn*(?),¹ son of . . . | having in charge for
3 him² from the year 24 <to the y>ear 31 . . . | I was inter-
rogated <before> *Tr*<*u*³ and> the judge (*or* court), and I said before
4 <them?> . . . | . . . not did I?³ ?⁴ I have taken?⁵

¹ If this reading be correct, it would probably be the second element, *-nadan* or *-nadin*, of a name of Babylonian type, whose first element would be the name of a god. The photograph looks more like *-tyn*, which might be part of the Hebraic name Nathûn, found elsewhere in these papyri.

² See No. 7 (*APE* 8):3, note 2; No. 12 (*APE* 5):6, note 6. Perhaps simply: "holding it in trust," not "for him."

³ This line is tantalizingly fragmentary. This word is clearly legible; but without context its meaning cannot be fixed. "Chastise," "plough," "winnow," are possibilities, not to mention others.

⁴ "Of *or* from them" (fem.) appears to be the most likely reading from the photograph; others, however, have read very differently.

⁵ "To wife," in a contracted form not otherwise found in exactly this spelling in these papyri, is a possibility.

5 The judge (*or* court) | . . and as it were violence¹ was done to
 me, and I said before *Truḥ* and the jud <ge> (*or* cour <t>) |
 6 <f>rom the year 24 to the year 31, and *Bḡprn* and *Nḡḡn* and
 7 *Mnki* and . . . came to Syene and² | the chariots(?)
 of *Nḡḡn*, army-commander of Syene, and the judges of the district, as
 8 if for(?) | before my lord (*or* lords) I sent (word), say-
 9 ing: As it were violence was done to me, and now |
 ask(?) *Truḥ* and the judge (*or* court) concerning this. As it were
 violence let not be done to me

NO. 7. AN OFFICIAL RESCRIPT FROM THE SATRAP ARŠAM, GIVING ORDER
 CONCERNING A DETAIL IN THE BUILDING OF A SHIP
 FOR THE GOVERNMENT

This is the only official document issued by the satrap's central bureau in the name of the satrap Aršam himself, though apparently without his signature, which is found in this collection. Unfortunately, it is fragmentary both at the beginning and at the end, and, on account of its isolation and the very technical terminology used in it, very difficult to interpret, especially in the large central portion, which is well preserved. Nevertheless the translator believes that it is possible to analyze this important typical document in greater detail and to arrive at a clearer understanding of its content than has yet been done.

¹ A technical expression of the legal vocabulary? Cf. lines 8 and 9, and *APE* 27:5, 8, and 9; the identity of position of this curious form of expression in these two documents of entirely different content, separated from each other by an interval of nearly fifty years, and the word "saying," introducing the "as it were" of line 8 in both, point to a well-established legal formula.

² The first name is probably the Persian name, written by the Greeks Megaphernes. The third name, probably the Babylonian Mannuki, and the fourth, of which all but the last letter is missing, are inserted above the line. Of the second name we do not know the pronunciation, though it is probably Persian; but we do know the bearer of it. He is the son of the well-known military governor of Yeb-Elephantine, *Ḳḡdrng*, successor of his father as army-commander at Syene-Assuan, and a great Jew-baiter; cf. line 8; *APE* 1(=No. 8):7, 8; *APA* H:4/5; J:5; *APE* 11(=No. 5):3, 4. The references given make it practically certain (1) that this document, whose dating is lost, was written after 416 (when the father, *Ḳḡdrng*, was still "army-commander of Syene") and, probably, before 410 (the great catastrophe at Yeb-Assuan); (2) that the regnal years here mentioned are those of Artaxerxes I Longimanus, being 441/40 and 434/33 respectively. A few letters following "to Syene and" may be read "to <ok>" or "to Q"

The specific order for the transmission of which this whole document was written is contained in the brief and to us cryptic statement, lines 22 f.: "Do thou according to that which the computers (?) say, as order has been given." As we know nothing further of the recipient *Wahapre'mehi*, except his name, and as the line which probably contained information as to the nature of his work, 6 | 7, is broken at precisely the decisive points, we do not know exactly what the order refers to. Some approach to its meaning, however, is gained by a correct understanding of the elaborate foundation laid for this order in the body of the document. This will, at the same time, give us an insight into the busy workshop of the governmental secretarial bureau and of the various bureaus and working bodies of the civil administration set in motion by it.

The document opens with the quotation of a report made to the satrap by two inspectors (?) of shipping, *Psamsenit* and *X* (name lost), through their chief (?), *Mithridates*. This report announces that certain work, described as carpentry, upon a ship of which these two inspectors had charge has been completed, and that, therefore, it is time to summon other workmen and to proceed to the next steps (line 2 | 3; cf. 7 | 8). This announcement is based on a previous order from the satrap, probably the original, summarily complete order for the building of the ship in question, which had said: Let the carpentry be done to measure and then let the computers be notified, etc. (lines 4-6; cf. lines 22 and 23, where it is distinctly said that these steps are in accordance with an order or decree which has been given). Line 6*b* quotes an order sent by the satrap to the governmental computers and givers of orders (or, perhaps better, makers of contracts) to proceed with their work. Next follows the elaborate report of these officials on their activities in obedience to this order: inspection of ?, and of the work completed by *Psamsenit* and *X*; recommendation of a competent foreman for the work to follow; calling in of this new foreman by the contract-makers for consultation; a complete and detailed statement of the materials needed for the work in hand (which to judge from the materials called for, and from the fact that the carpentry

is finished, must be the joinery); specifications as to the manner in which this material is to be delivered; designation of the appointed foreman as the man to whom delivery is to be made. The report closes with the recommendation, that the next step be taken expeditiously, thus quoting again, as is clearly stated this time, the original order, which had been quoted at the close of a similar report, lines 4-6. Now follows the order of the satrap to Waḥapre^cmehi. As this man is not concerned with the construction, and as the only other element dealt with in the computers' report, upon which the satrap bases his order, is the furnishing and delivery of the material, it is a fairly safe supposition, that it was this latter function with which Waḥapre^cmehi was concerned. What follows is sufficiently set forth in the notes.

The translator does not possess sufficient knowledge of ship-building, nor the time, at present, to acquire it, to determine more closely the specific parts of the ship for which the timbers, as specified, would be suitable. Though it may not be possible to determine every point with absolute precision, yet it is hoped that by expert examination of the specifications, as set forth, our knowledge of the obscure terms here found may be definitely furthered also.

APE Pap. 8 (P. 13492):

From ²Aršam to *Uḥpr^cmhi*.¹ To proceed:]
² unto us Mithradat,² the *nypt*,³ as follows: Thus says (said?)
*Psmst*⁴

¹ An Egyptian name: "Apries is in the horizon." Note the curt opening! Allowing for the official character of the rescript, it is still clear that the addressee is of no high rank or station.

² A well-known Persian name. Before "unto us" supply "sent notice or a report." This, again, must have been preceded by a dependent clause or phrase, stating time, reason, cause, or purpose of this report.

³ Probably Persian: *nāy*, navis, ship; and *pat*, master; shipmaster, a title, applying, as the implications of our papyrus show, to foremen or overseers of varying rank in the government's shipbuilding and maintenance department. This Persian nōpat receives the report of two Egyptian nōpats, evidently his subordinates, and transmits it to the satrap directly.

⁴ An Egyptian name: "Psam (metich), son of Neit?" Supply from lines 7/8: "and X, the two nōpats of."

- 3 | The Walled Towns,¹ thus said they: The ship of which we have charge,² it is time to make its *yṣṣd*³⁴
 4 Let the carpentering be done to measure,⁵ and let the *hmdkr*⁶ of the stores be notified.⁷ They, together with the *frmnkr*⁸⁹ |

¹ Probably the name of the territory under the jurisdiction of Psamsenit and his partner; therefore hardly all the walled towns of Egypt, nor those of Tštrs (No. 3 = *APE* 4:1, note 4), but name of a nome? a subdivision of a nome? It would be an appropriate designation for the pair Yeb-Syene.

² The usual translation is: "which we own." Now it is true that this word, and even this very form, is used once in *APA*, and twice or thrice in *APE* in a connection which suggests the meaning "holder or owner of property." But even in those few cases the meaning "guardian," "keeper" is much more appropriate. In fact, nowhere in earlier Aramaic, neither in Daniel, nor in *APE*, *APA*, and *RES* I, 247, does the word clearly mean "to own." Wherever sufficient context makes it possible to determine the meaning at all, it clearly means "to guard, to have" or "retain charge of." Here, however, the meaning "own," "owners" is peculiarly inappropriate. If a new ship is building, which is admitted on all sides to be a possibility, and which seems to the writer to be so strong a probability as to be almost certainty, why should a pair of obscure little government inspectors of shipyards and shipping describe themselves as owners of a ship being built by the government? And if it is an old hulk of theirs which they want repaired at government expense, would they to that end set the whole machinery from the high lord satrap downward publicly into motion? See No. 12 = *APE* 5:6, note 6.

³ *yṣṣd*, or *-ṣr*, derivation unknown, is what is done to a ship after the carpentry is finished (see line 8; cf. line 4), i.e., the joinery. If so understood, the usual rendering "equipment (active)," "outfitting" may well be used.

⁴ Supply: "in accordance with the (original?) order, which was given," or the like; cf. lines 22 f.

⁵ Lit. "on the rope," i.e., "by the measuring line"; another possibility, less good to the translator's mind, is: "on dry land." A drydock which has also been suggested is out of the question. Carpentry was chiefly sawing.

⁶ Accountants, computers, are what the context suggests these officials to have been. If one could account in this early Persian for such heterogeneous formations as this *hmdkr*, the *hmdyn* of lines 5 and 17, and the Semiticized haddāberin of Dan. 3:24, 27; 4:33; 6:8, as derivatives from the root of middle and modern Persian *hāndiz*, "to reckon, calculate, compute," that would be a delightful solution of three troublesome problems at one stroke. *Caelera desiderantur*.

⁷ Lit. "sent to."

⁸ Another class of officials with a Persian name; these are the givers and promulgators of orders, not the *zdkr* of No. 3 = *APE* 4:5; the chief function, however, of the *frmnkr* seems to be the letting of contracts for work in the service of the government (cf. line 8 f.). This series offers interesting insight into the work of the Persian administration in Egypt: computing accountants, givers of orders, auditors or verifiers, and scribes are all at work in the civil administration; all work in bodies, whence the form of their reports: X (the chief or head) and his associates. For a few more bodies of this sort, from the judicial and police organization, the latter of which seems to have been connected with the military administration (see especially No. 5 = *APE* 11), see the Strassb. Papyrus = No. 10.

⁹ Supply: "shall do so and so"; very probably: "shall inspect the work and on the basis of their inspection let them. . . ." These are, almost certainly, not

5 ...and its ²*ʔpkr*,¹ let them make, and let (an order) be sent to whomsoever it may be² (for) the materials³ (according to) *hndyn*.⁴ Finally |

detailed recommendations of Mithradat as to what should be done next, now that Psamsenit and X have completed their part of the work, although that is commonly held to be the import of these lines. More careful examination makes it clear that this can only be Aršam's original order for the building of the ship, or at least a previous general order, upon which Psamsenit and his partner base their report: It is now time to make the joinery. They are certain of this, because the original or previous order said: Let the carpentry be done to measure and then let notice be sent, etc. Their detail, the carpentry, is finished (see line 8). These subordinates, therefore, can now report with an air of finality: It is now time to go on to the next step. It is this rough carpentry, the making of the empty, hollow hull, which Herodotus describes as the first step in Egyptian boat building, ii. 96. The ancients did not first build up the skeleton of the hull and then put on the skin over it, as is now done. They built first the hollow hull; that was the carpentry. All the rest was joinery, equipment, outfitting. It is interesting to note the number of orders and reports involved in the building of a ship: an order to Psamsenit and X, perhaps through Mithradat, lines 4 ff. quoted in a report of Mithradat, based on a report of his subordinates, lines 2-6*a*; an order to the *hmdkr* and *frmnkr*, line 6*b*; their report in detail, lines 6 *fin*-22*a*, again quoting the original order, end of 22*a*; order of this document, 22*b*, 23*a*.

¹ The reading is not certain and the word in any case is unknown as to its etymology. The context, however, makes rather probable the meaning "an estimate of it," or the like.

² This is the translator's own reading, of which he hopes to publish a detailed account elsewhere. Though it has not to his knowledge been previously suggested, he believes it to be almost certain.

³ The meaning of this word, *ʔrmd*, of unknown etymology, is really quite clear in this document, here and especially farther on, lines 9 and 21: the materials for a woodwork construction, chiefly the timbers themselves, which were to serve as thwarts, keelson, dowels, etc. This ends the dispute concerning its meaning in No. 8=*APE* 1:11 and in Ezra 5:3, 9. In connection with the temple, whether at Elephantine or at Jerusalem, it can mean only all such material unmentioned in detail, supports, pegs, paneling, in Ezra the one timber "course" in three of stone, etc. The meaning "colonnade," assumed by one of our ablest American Aramaists, Professor Torrey, must be abandoned as impossible; equally untenable is Paul Haupt's "sanctuary," though some etymological connection with the well-known Ashera, which is a tree trunk, stake, or post, is not improbable. Torrey (by letter) suggests: "inside woodwork."

⁴ See note on line 4, *hmdkr*. "Specification" is a meaning which suits both this context and line 17 very well. The preposition of line 17 is omitted here; it may be inadvertently by a scribal error, or it may be intentionally, making this an adverbial accusative. Or is this a verb? Perhaps: "Let (notice) be given to whomsoever it may be: Specify the material!"

6 let be given,¹ and expeditiously(?)² let its *ʔupšd* be made.³ Then, after (orders) had been sent by me unto them⁴ concerning this, they sent
 7 (this? report) | *hḫ*(-wood?)⁵ which (is) over against the fortress(?) in Y(?)⁶ Mithradat the *nypt* showed us the
 8 ship *nhūi*⁷ which (or that which) by Psamsenit and | the two *nypts*⁸ of the The Walled Towns, had been carpentered to measure.⁹ Then (*lit.* and) we designated to *Šmšlk*¹⁰ and his associates, the *frmnkr*,
 9 *Šmy*, s <on> of | *Knyfi*,¹¹ head of the ship(?) -carpenters; and thus they¹² said: It is time to make its *ʔupšd*. This is the material which *ʔpiti*¹³ to

¹ Supply, in accordance with line 21b: "to a responsible workman designated by the *hmdkr* let these supplies be given," or the like.

² Or completely, or skilfully?

³ This is the end of the satrap's original order (cf. end of line 22a), upon which the report of Psamsenit and X, on the completion of their part and the necessity of securing workmen and materials to go on with the next, is based.

⁴ I.e., by the satrap to the *hmdkr*.

⁵ Cf. lines 11, 15, 20; supply: "we have inspected," or "*Uḫpr-mḫi* showed us," or the like.

⁶ This suggests that perhaps *Uḫpr-mḫi*, the person to whom this rescript is addressed, may have furnished some of the wood, though this is not at all certain. He does not, at any rate, appear to have had anything to do with the construction. Is his "lumberyard" near the citadel of Yeb?

⁷ The usual supposition, that this is the name of the ship, seems to the translator the most improbable one; it scarcely seems ready to bear a name. Some statement like "we noting," or "while we noted," though not conforming to the "rules" of such little Aramaic of this older time as we know, might yet be a possibility. If so, the whole text at this point would read straight enough. Or is the solution simpler still, to be read: "Mithradat, the nōpat, informed us: The ship we will submit to inspection, which Psamsenit," etc. The name after "Psamsenit and" cannot be read; more than half of the upper part of the letters is missing.

⁸ Lit. "both of them the nōpats."

⁹ The translator fails utterly to see the insurmountable difficulty which decipherers and commentators alike have discovered at this point. Why, having read one word, "sawed, carpentered," in line 4, one should here read a different word, which could only mean "towed," is to him a mystery.

¹⁰ A Phoenician or Punic name.

¹¹ Egyptian names, apparently, though the first may be Semitic; the second means "the Ka is good"; cf. No. 5 (*APE* 11):5.

¹² I.e., of course, *Šmy* and his associates, the ship-carpenters in the employ of the government; another interesting example of the corporative organization of the provincial government of the Persian empire.

¹³ This can hardly mean anything else than "is needed," "is wanted." The order in the original is: "*ʔpiti* its *ʔupšd* | to make."

- 10 make | its *ʔupšd*:
Timbers of cedar and *ʔr*, new, *ʔf* (boards? ?), ten cubits,
šim . bṭq, eighty cubits by three palms,
bgu sgnn, twelve cubits, |
11 *šf*, fifteen (cubits ?),
. . . ., twenty cubits,
bʿbl, seventy cubits;
hnn for the belly, three,¹
qlʿs for the raising (?stature ? ?), one.²
- 12 Timbers of *hḥ*-(wood), sixty cubits,
phṭmyni lḥʿrʿr, one for two cubits.³
*ʔpsṭ*⁴ under the *hḥ*, five,
13 nails of copper and iron,⁵ | two hundred.

¹ Three timbers or pieces? the ship's belly being probably the bottom, the lowest part, are *hnn*, as in Arabic, the keelson timbers? The keel, or what corresponds to it in the mortuary boat in the Field Museum at Chicago, the plank, which runs centrally from the prow through the lowest part amidships to the stern, consists of three pieces; but this, being a relatively small and expensive mortuary bark, can hardly be used in comparison, although an excellent detailed description of it by competent experts exists, which, through the kindness of Dr. B. Laufer, the authorities of the Field Museum generously placed at the translator's disposal in a typewritten copy. More valuable in this respect is the study of ancient models of freight boats, published by Chr. Belger in *ZdS* XXXIII (1895), 24-32, to which Dr. George Allen, Assistant Curator of Haskell Oriental Museum, called the translator's attention. The keelson-like construction in ancient Egyptian Nile boats is there clearly shown, especially on p. 26, where, as well as on the following pages, other parts of the "joinery" may also be seen. What is the relation of the *hnn*, ll. 14 ff., whose dimensions are specified, to the *hnn* here?

² Can this have anything to do with the well-known word for "sail" *qlʿ*? If so, then is it mast or yard? Cf. Belger, quoted in the foregoing note. Or has this to do with the high framework, on which the rudder or rudders were hung, for which the *ʔf*, "boards," may have been intended?

³ Has this anything to do with the two cubits of Herodotus, which seem to be a bit improbable as they stand? The planks of the little mortuary bark in the Field Museum are laid brick fashion correctly enough; but even in this comparatively small boat they are much longer than two cubits each. Or is this because of the difference in wood? Herodotus speaks of *Acantha* (thorn) wood; the Field Museum bark is sumptuously constructed of cedar throughout. Nevertheless the dowel-tenons (Herodotus' *γάμφοι*, for which Liddell and Scott give "crossribs," and George Rawlinson, "stakes or poles," neither of which are found in this connection in Egyptian boats) and their slots are roughly about two cubits apart, and the boards in the little decks fore and aft are about two cubits in length. The *r*'s in the second word may, either or both, be read *d*.

⁴ Points? Knobs? Projecting ends for support?

⁵ Bronze?

Timbers of cedar-(wood), old(?), strong(?) of *tmš*,¹ twenty cubits,

Total.²

Let be brought, as calkage for them(?), old(?) and worn (*lit.* broken), unto the stores

14 cords (*or* cloths) | of flax, thick(?), one hundred and eighty *krš*, rags
(? *rq'n*),³ two hundred and fifty *krš*.

15 Timbers of cedar-(wood), new, *hnn* two, each five cubits | three palms
by three palms.

For the *hš*, nails of copper, one hundred and fifty, each three palms;
16 two hundred and seventy-five, | each ten
fingers,⁴
All the nails, four hundred and twenty-
five.

Plates of copper, twenty cubits,⁵

their nails, two hundred. |

17 Timbers of cedar-(wood), old, *rsyt mšn*, one talent, ten minas.⁶

Total.

Add to it: sulphur, *krš* ten;

and, according to its specification(?), arsenic, *krš* one hun-
dred.⁷ |

¹ *tmš* may be some standard of strength or thickness; see line 20.

² Cf. line 17.

³ The word will bear the meaning given; and rags would be used for calking, as would be the ropes described. In fact this rope material, specified by weight, is, using flax for hemp, the modern oakum. The word translated "calkage," *hlift*, is quite capable of bearing this meaning, though not elsewhere found in such connection hitherto. Is this the troublesome *καλαφάτης*, *calafatare*, which can hardly be Arabic?

⁴ The palm being four fingerbreadths, these would be two and one-half palms long—still a most respectable nail.

⁵ Just enough to protect the keel or keel plank, when the boat was drawn up on the beach; not enough to sheathe the whole bottom of a seagoing vessel for protection against the action of salt water. Building at Syene or Elephantine, or in their immediate neighborhood, perhaps the old shipping center, Silsileh (Dümichen, *Gesch. des alt. Aegyptens*, pp. 37 f.), this was, of course not a seagoing vessel. The length of the copperplating, whose width may have been of a standard size, corresponds to the missing fifth item of the new cedar and 7 timbers in l. 11, and to the only item of old(?) and strong(?) cedar, l. 13. For such copperplating in antiquity see Kraus *Talmud. Archäologie*, II, 340; Speck, *Handels-gesch. des Altertums*, I, 28.

⁶ Lines 17 ff. are written on the back of the sheet. Is this just offal and scraps, perhaps with sawdust and shavings? It is specified by weight only, without other designation of measure. Such material would be used for the making of pins, pegs, dowel-tenons, etc., and, possibly, to help fill chinks too large for simple calking.

⁷ For painting, of course; trisulphide of arsenic, *auripigmentum*, orpiment, and disulphide of arsenic, realgar, were widely used as yellows and reds in dyeing and

- 18 And let be added¹ to the timbers, which are to be delivered:
to *tf*, in length to each three palms *hfuš*,² and to the breadth
and thickness two fingers;
- 19 and to *šim*, in length to each three palms *hfuš*, and to the
breadth two fingers;
- and to *šf* and the *hnns*, in length to each one palm;
- 20 and to *b'bl*, the timbers of *hb*, of the thickness(?) of *tmš*,³
in length to each three palms *hfuš* and to the breadth one
finger.⁴
- 21 The cords (or cloths) of flax, the rags(?), | the arsenic, the sulphur, by
the (standard) weight of Persia shall it be delivered. Let (orders) be
sent as follows: This material is to be delivered upon the hands of *Šmy*,
22 the son of *Knufi*, head | of the ship(?) -carpenters, for the *g(?)nīn*⁶ of
the *ʿupšd* of that ship, and let him make (it) expeditiously,⁷ as order has
23 been given.⁸ Now ʿAršam says thus: Do thou do | according to that
which the *hmdkr* say,⁹ as order has been given. ʿAnani, the scribe,

painting, also in the alchemy of late antiquity and the Middle Ages. How early? The boat in the Field Museum shows traces of red paint. Have the pigments of ancient Egypt and Persia been chemically examined? *Hndyn*, "specification"(?); cf. note 4, l. 5.

¹ For good measure; to insure against possible shortage.

² If *hfuš*, then, perhaps, = "sought out, tested, gauged," or "of standard size." If *hfuš*, then, possibly, "free," either "free from," i.e., beyond the size required, or "not held to exact measure"; the latter would be a distinct Hebraism. In favor of the former is the curious connection of the word *hafsš*, "seeking, scenting out," with "three palms" in the Babylonian Talmud, *Pesahim* 31b: In regard to the rule that leaven, which can be scented out by a dog, must be removed before Passover, the question is asked: "How far is 'the scenting out of a dog'?" The reply is: "Three palms."

³ For the *tmš* see line 13; the possible meaning thickness for *drī* is derived from a scrap of papyrus, found in January, 1902, at Elephantine, and published by De Vogüé in *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, Vol. I, No. 246.

⁴ It is to be noted that the "old cedar," included in the general list of supplies, lines 10-17, is not mentioned in these particular specifications for the timbers "which are to be delivered."

⁵ See note on No. 1 = APE 25:3.

⁶ The second letter is uncertain; it may be *z* or *y* or *g*, not *i*, as is usually read. If *g*, then possibly "the laying out of the joinery"; if *y*, then possibly "for the response, i.e., the needs," or simply "for the matter, the affair of the joinery." For *z*, the most likely reading from the photograph, the translator has no specific suggestion to offer; some such verbal noun as those above mentioned it must clearly be.

⁷ See note on line 6.

⁸ End of the report of the *hmdkr*, quoting a previous, perhaps the original, order of the satrap; cf. lines 3-6.

⁹ Exactly what *Uhpṛmhi* is to do is not clear; see note on line 7.

24 secretary in chief,¹ *Nby^cqb* wrote (it). | *Uḥpr^cmḥi* (or *rīmḥi*) ?????? |
 25/26 as order has been given. ? Wrote (it) Sobk . . .² | The baris³ . . . |
 27/28 From(?) ²Aršam? | *Nby^cqb* the scribe (or the document),
 on the 23d of Ṭebeth, year 12 of Dari <us>.⁴

NO. 8. A PETITION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AT ELEPHANTINE TO THE
 PERSIAN GOVERNOR OF JUDAEA, BAGOAS (BAGOHI)

This petition is of an official character, though it does not issue from any officer or body of officers recognized, so far as we know, by the Persian government; its writers are the leaders of the Jewish community at Yeb-Elephantine (cf. Introduction to No. 5, *APE* 11), acting in the name of the community.

Its recipient, Bagohi (Bagoas; the same name, but referring to other persons, is found in the Old Testament, in the form Bigvai, Ezra 2:2, 14; 8:14; Neh. 7:7, 19; 10:17), is a *successor* of Nehemiah and others in the governorship of the little subordinate province of Judaea. There is little doubt that he must be identified with the Bagoses of Josephus' *Ant.*, XI, vii, 1 (297-301), who functioned in the reign of Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404-359). He

¹ For the name 'Anani, see I Chron. 3:24; cf. Neh. 3:23; 11:32. He is a well-known character in these papyri; see No. 8=*APE* 1/2:19; 11(=No. 5):4, 10, 11; the same name elsewhere also, once or twice as scribe. If this latter be our 'Anani, then Professor Arnold may be right in assuming that we must read: "'Anani, the scribe. Secretary in chief: *Nby^cqb* has signed." It is certainly most remarkable that the same fluent office handwriting runs through the words "Secretary in chief," to be replaced by a more stiff, vertical, and formal (?) one in the last two words. To whomever the title may apply, its meaning here is fairly clear: chief or head of the central scribal or secretarial bureau or chancellery of the satrap. The same title occurs in Ezra 4:8, 9, 17, there rendered "chancellor." The literal meaning is "Master of Decrees"; Torrey (by letter): "Master of Reports"; cf. *Ezra Studies*, 200. *Nby^cqb* is a West Semitic name found in Babylonian documents.

² These two lines, immediately under the last line of the great rescript, are written in a very poor hand, evidently unused to Aramaic, probably in the bureau of *Uḥpr^cmḥi* and by his scribe or secretary, whose name, one element of which, the well-known Egyptian god, Sobk, is clearly legible, is written in Demotic.

³ This line, some distance from the previous one, is a docket in Demotic. Baris is a kind of ship used in Egypt; Herodotus ii, 96, evidently refers to the kind of ship in question.

⁴ These two, perhaps three, lines are written in the same fluent hand as the main body of the rescript, at the very bottom of the page, so that, with proper folding they would appear on the outside as the address. The date is that of the February lunation, 411.

is probably not to be confounded, as he formerly was, with the powerful eunuch Bagoas of Artaxerxes III Ochus and Darius III Codomannus.

Recipients of similar petitions, according to the statement of our document (lines 18, 19, 29), were other influential persons resident in Palestine. On the first of these, Johanan, the high priest of the temple at Jerusalem, see the passages quoted in the note on his name, line 18. Since his grandfather, Eliashib, was high priest in Nehemiah's day, this enables us to date Nehemiah's activity with almost perfect certainty in the reign of Artaxerxes I Longimanus (465-424). The second, ²Austan (?), brother of ⁶Anani, is not otherwise known. He seems to have occupied in Jerusalem a position similar to that of *Idniḥ* in Yeb. Sanballat, governor of Samaria (line 29), is without much doubt to be identified with the Sanballat of Nehemiah's time (see note on his name). Whether he be identical with the Sanballat of Josephus, *Ant.*, XI, vii, 2; viii, according to Josephus the founder of the temple on Gerizim and therewith of the Samaritan schism—in which case Josephus' dates must be wrong—or whether the Sanballat of Josephus be another, perhaps the grandson of this Sanballat, is a matter of dispute. The latter seems to the translator the more probable; that these Jews, for whose Samaritan origin, in whole or in part, even the clever Hoonacker has not succeeded in furnishing convincing proof, should appeal to the Samaritan authorities at all *after Nehemiah's days*, that they place on the same memorandum the statement of Bagohi and Delayah together (*APE* 3=No. 7), goes far to indicate that the schism had not yet been definitely consummated. Delayah and Shelemyah, the sons of Sanballat, to whom the petition mentioned in line 29 is addressed, though their father is still living and governor of Samaria (probably very old), are not otherwise known.

This papyrus is most important, because it establishes definitely the fact, of which scholars could not be certain from *APA* and Strassb., that the Jews of Yeb had in their midst a rather large and fully equipped temple of Jahweh with priests and complete and elaborate temple service, quite parallel to the same institutions at Jerusalem, except that a high priest is nowhere mentioned.

The form of the divine name used in these papyri is probably to be read Yahu, not Yaho, as some scholars contend.

The content of the document is not, as has been supposed, a request for permission to rebuild their temple. Neither Bagoas nor any of the other persons addressed had authority to grant such permission for Egypt; only Aršam, the satrap, or the king could do that. The nature of the reply, No. 9 (*APE* 3), as well as the wording of the petition itself, shows that what was asked for was the exertion of influence and, more especially, the writing of letters of recommendation, which would support and strengthen the request of the Jews before Aršam (which is probably found in Strassb.=No. 10) and help them to secure from him the desired permission to rebuild their temple.

The non-success of the Elephantine Jews with Johanan, the high priest, and ²Austan, the popular leader at Jerusalem, may in part have to be accounted for by the troubles between Bagohi-Bagoes and Johanan-Ioannes, Josephus, *Ant.*, XI, vii, 1. It may, however, have been in large part, if not wholly, due to the unwillingness of the Jerusalem Jews to sanction the existence of a complete Jahweh-temple and temple-service outside of Jerusalem, as the reply of Bagohi, the activity of Hananiah in Egypt (No. 4 = *APE* 6 and No. 5 = *APE* 11), the probable sequel (No. 12 = *APE* 5), and the well-known attitude of the Jews of Nehemiah's day and thereafter toward the Samaritans and in regard to the temple at Jerusalem go far to show. Finally, it may have been caused by circumstances of which we have no knowledge.

The document is preserved in two copies, the second much more fragmentary than the first. Neither is, of course, "the original," for this was sent to Jerusalem. It is a matter of dispute whether these copies, retained at home, were rough preliminary drafts, or duplicate copies made to be kept at the home office. What little evidence we have, e.g., in Nos. 1 and 2 (*APE* 25 and 26), No. 3 (*APE* 4), points toward the latter alternative, which is the more probable also on general grounds.

The text given in the translation follows the lines of *APE* 1. The text of *APE* 2 is used to emend that of its fellow, where this

seemed corrupt or less good. Variant readings are, however, carefully noted in the footnotes.

APE Pap. 1/2 (P. 13495 and 13496):

To our lord Bagôhi,¹ governor of Judaea, thy servants, *Idnîh* and his
 2 associates, the priests who are in Yeb the fortress. | May the god of
 heaven provide for² the welfare of our lord bounteously³ always, and
 3 may he establish thee in the favor of⁴ Darius the king | and of (his)
 court⁵ more abundantly than now a thousandfold and may he give thee
 4 long life, and mayest thou be hale and hearty always. | To proceed: thy
 servant⁶ *Idnîh* and his associates say as follows: In the month of Tam-
 5 muz, the 14th year of Darius the king,⁷ when ²Aršam | had departed and
 gone unto the king, the shavelings⁸ of the god Ḥnûb who (are) in Yeb
 the fortress⁹ <made> a plot(?) with *Uîdrng*, who was military governor
 6 here,⁹ | to wit: Let the temple of *Iḥy* the god which is in Yeb the fortress
 7 be removed thence. Then that *Uîdrng*, | the accursed(?), sent a letter
 unto *Npîn* his son, who was commander of the army at Syene the for-
 8 tress, as follows: The temple¹⁰ which is in Yeb | the fortress shall be
 destroyed. Thereupon *Npîn*¹¹ led forth the Egyptians and other troops;

¹ In the space above line 1, in No. 1, faint traces of writing appear. "To Bagôhi . . .," can still be made out with fair certainty; probably a false start, erased by the scribe himself.

² Lit.: "inquire after, pray for"; a common formula of salutation.

³ Omitted in 2. The first two lines in 2 are very fragmentary; the only clear difference from 1 is the minor omission here indicated.

⁴ Lit.: "unto favor before"; cf. I Kings 8:50; Ps. 106:46; Dan. 1:9; Gen. 39:21; and No. 5 = *APE* 11:2 f.

⁵ Lit.: "the sons of the house"; cf. Ezra 6:10; 7:23; probably includes, besides the king's sons, viziers and other high officials of the court. This phrase, judging from the space it occupies, seems to have been abbreviated in 2. Cf. No. 1 (*APE* 25):12.

⁶ 2 may have read "thy servants."

⁷ June-July 410 B.C. The king's name is written *Driyḥyš*.

⁸ The word used for the priests of Khnum, here and No. 10 = Strassburg A:3; B 3, is a good old Aramaic word for "priest." In the Old Testament, II Kings 23:5; Hos. 10:5; Zeph. 1:4, and in these documents it has a distinctly derogatory flavor. It is never used of the priests of Jahweh.

⁹ 2: "gave money and treasures to *Uîdrng* military governor, who was <here>." Both 1 and 2 exhibit at this point an incomplete text, which bears the earmarks of a hasty copy. 1 lacks a verb altogether. The Strassburg Papyrus, lines 2-4, has a fuller and better text of this charge against the priests of Khnum and *Uîdrng*, as it had taken fixed form in the minds of the Jews of Elephantine. Were their scribes weary of repeating the oft-used formula?

¹⁰ 2 adds: "of *Iḥy* the god."

¹¹ 2: "that *Npîn*."

- 9 they came to the fortress of Yeb with their implements(?),¹ | they entered into that temple, they razed it to the ground; and the pillars of stone which were there, they broke them in pieces. Moreover there
 10 were 5² portals | of stone² built of hewn stone, which were in that temple; they destroyed (them), and their doors, which were in place, and the
 11 pivots | of those doors, (which were) of bronze. And the roof,³ (which was built) wholly of cedar beams,⁴ with the rest of the woodwork,
 12 etc., which was | there, everything they burnt with fire. The libation bowls of gold and silver and whatsoever (else) there was in that temple,
 13 everything they took | and appropriated. And since the days of the kings⁵ of Egypt our fathers had built⁶ that temple in Yeb the fortress,
 14 and when Cambyzes⁷ invaded Egypt, | he found that temple standing;⁸ and the temples of the gods of Egypt⁹ were all destroyed, but no one
 15 did any injury at all to that temple. But when this had happened,¹⁰ we with our wives and our children put on sackcloth and fasted and and prayed¹¹ to Iḥu, the lord of heaven: |
 16 Show us that cur *Ḳidrng* with his anklets wrenched from his feet and bereft of all his possessions, and all the men |
 17 who sought evil against that temple slain, so that we may look upon their (dead bodies).¹² Moreover before this, at
 18 the time when this evil | was done to us, we sent a letter¹³ (to) our lord and unto Jehohanan¹⁴ the high priest and his associates the priests

¹ 2: "weapons."

² 2: "great portals"; the text of 1 is a faulty copy.

³ 2 adds: "of that temple."

⁴ 1 inserts here an inconsequential "of," which it had omitted a little earlier and then inserted above the line, without deleting the misplaced duplicate.

⁵ 1: "king" (*sic!*).

⁶ The awkward diction is due to literal rendering of the original; the meaning is clear enough.

⁷ *Knbuzi*.

⁸ Lit. "built."

¹⁰ Lit. "when it had been done thus."

⁹ 2: "the Egyptians."

¹¹ 2: "fasting and praying>."

¹² This passage is presented, with minor changes, in the latest translation, published by W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark* (1917), Excursus II. In place of "his anklets" 1 reads "the anklets"; in place of "all the men" 2 seems to have read <"every man">. The rendering is not quite literal, but represents in good idiomatic English the precise meaning of Semitic idioms, which have no exact parallel in English. Others: "who showed us that *Ḳ*., the chains torn from his feet by dogs . . . and we looked . . ."

¹³ 2: "Concerning this; we sent unto our lord, also unto"; 1 is manifestly faulty.

¹⁴ Ezra 10:6; Neh. 12:22, 23 (Johanan), 11 (Jonathan); cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, XI, vii.

19 who (are) in Jerusalem, and unto ²*yshn* the brother of | 'Anani¹ and the
nobles of the Jews.² Not a single letter did they send to us. Moreover,
20 from the month of Tammuz, the 14th year of Darius³ the king | to the
present day we are wearing sackcloth and fasting, our wives are made
21 as widows, we are not anointing⁴ ourselves with oil | nor drinking wine;
moreover, from that⁵ and unto the present⁶ 17th year of Darius the
22 king⁷ meal-offering and⁸ incense and burnt-offering | have not been
offered⁹ in that temple. Now thy servants *Idnih* and his associates and
23 the Jews, all (of them) citizens of Yeb,¹⁰ say thus: | If it seem good to our
lord, let him take an interest in that temple that it may be (re)built,¹¹ since
we are not permitted to (re)build it. Lo, there are¹² men under obligation
24 to thee | for thy kindnesses and thy favors¹³ who are here in Egypt; let a
letter from thee be sent to them concerning the temple of *Ihḫ* the god |
25 that it may be (re)built¹⁴ in Yeb the fortress, as it was built aforetime,
and the meal offering and incense and burnt offering shall be offered¹⁵ |
26 upon the altar of *Ihḫ* the god in thy name,¹⁶ and we will pray for thee at
27 all time(s), we and our wives and our children and the Jews, | all who¹⁷
are here. If thus it be done¹⁷ to the end that that temple may be (re)built,

¹ See Introduction to No. 5 (*APE* 11) and No. 7 = *APE* 8, l. 23, p. 434, note 1.

² 2: "Of Judaea"; cf. Neh. 2:16; 4:14, 19; 5:7; 6:17; 7:5; 13:17, and see Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judentums*, pp. 132 f.

³ *Drihḫ*⁵, *APE* 1: here and lines 21 and 30.

⁴ So probably 1; 2: "We have not anointed."

⁵ 2: "That time."

⁶ Lit. "the day of the."

⁷ 407/6 B.C.

⁸ 2 omits "and."

⁹ Lit. "made."

¹⁰ 1: "All of the citizens of Yeb."

¹¹ Lit. "to (re)build it."

¹² Lit. "masters of thy kindnesses and thy favors"; the word "masters" is widely used in similar phrases, the idea of possession or ownership being in many cases highly attenuated. Only through such men subject to his influence by reason of past favors could Bagohi (Bagoas), the governor of little Judaea, exert any influence upon affairs in the great province of Egypt, whose governor, Aršam, was of much higher rank than Bagohi.

¹³ Cf. line 23.

¹⁴ 2: "We will offer"; lit. "bring nigh," in both 1 and 2.

¹⁵ As was done for the king and the royal house in Jerusalem; cf. Ezra 6:10, and later for the Seleucid kings and the Roman emperors; cf. Ed. Meyer, *EdJ*, 51 f.; Schürer, *GVJ*, II, 246 f.

¹⁶ 2: "all the Jews who."

¹⁷ Better 2: "thou do."

28 then there will be greater righteousness¹ to thee before 𐤒𐤇𐤕 the god | of
 heaven than (that) of a man who offers to him burnt offerings and sacri-
 fices to the value of 1 thousand² talents. And³ as for (the) gold, con-
 29 cerning this | we have sent information.⁴ Moreover, all the news we
 have sent in⁵ one letter in our name to Delayah and Shelemyah, the
 30 sons of *Sn̄blt*,⁶ governor of Samaria. | Moreover, of all this which
 happened to us Aršam knew nothing. On the 20th of Marcheshwan,
 the 17th year of Darius the king.

NO. 9. THE REPLY OF BAGOHI AND OF DELAYAH, SON OF SANBALLAT TO THE
 PETITION OF THE JEWS OF ELEPHANTINE

Neither Bagoi nor the Samaritans consented to give a written reply. Why, else, were the replies of both summed up in a brief memorandum, written by someone else?

It should be noted, also, that the reply mentions meal offering and incense only, whereas the petition spoke of burnt offerings as well. A temple, lacking sacrifices and burnt offering, would be well on the way to becoming a synagogue or church. The attitude, or a change of attitude, of the Elephantine Jews and their leaders toward this aspect of their case seems to be indicated in No. 12 = *APE* 5. Nor may No. 13 = *APE* 15 be wholly overlooked.

Or did Bagoi, etc., respond, and is this the note of one of the men of No. 8 (*APE* 1/2): 23 f. ? (Torrey).

The date of the reply must of course be later than that of the petition, which is dated October–November, 407. From the reply it appears that at this time the satrap Aršam had returned to Egypt.

APE Pap. 3 (P. 13497):

1/2 Memorandum of what Bagôhi and Delayah said | to me. Memorandum,
 3 to wit: Thou art to say in Egypt | before 𐤒𐤃𐤌 Aršam concerning that altar-

¹ I.e., merit; cf. Deut. 24:13.

² 2: "a thousand"; the writing of 1 at this point is most peculiar.

³ 2 omits "and."

⁴ Lit. "we have sent, we have made known"; i.e., in a private communication, since even in those times a bribe could not be more than hinted at in an official petition.

⁵ 2 omits "in."

⁶ The Sanballat of Neh. 2:10 and *passim*; his sons are not mentioned in the Old Testament, though a Delayah occurs, I Chron. 3:24, another Neh. 6:10, and another Neh. 7:62; Ezra 2:60; and the name Shelemyah, Ezra 10:39; Neh. 3:30; 13:13; Jer. 37:3; 38:1; 37:13.

4/5 house of the god of | heaven which was built in Yeb the fortress | from
 6 aforetime, before Cambyeses, | which that accursed(?) *Ujdrng* de-
 7/8 stroyed | in the 14th year of Darius the king, | 'that it may be (re)built'
 9 in its place as it was aforetime, | and the meal offering and incense shall
 10/11 be offered² upon | that altar, even as aforetime | it used to be done.

NO. 10. COMPLAINT AND PETITION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF ELEPHANTINE
 (ADDRESSED TO ARŠAM?)

This papyrus is in a lamentable state of dilapidation. It was purchased at Luxor, but came undoubtedly from Elephantine, where it probably had been found by peasants digging for fertilizer, as were *APA* some years later. Whether its present condition be due to the elements or to handling by the finders cannot be said.

Its existence was first publicly noted in 1901; the text was made public in 1903 in an admirable edition by the late Julius Euting. Hence it is known as the Euting Papyrus. As it belongs to the Imperial Library of Strassburg, it is also called the Strassburg Papyrus. The latter designation has been chosen in these translations (abbrev. *Strassb.*), because it is more impersonal, and because it names once for all its probably permanent home.

The whole consists of two pieces, on each of which are found five complete lines; on the back of the first are fragments of fourteen lines, the beginnings and endings of which are missing. These are labeled A, B, and C, respectively, as the translation shows.

It is the more to be regretted that this document has not come to us in a better state of preservation, because in it we have what is probably an official communication of the Elephantine Jews to the satrap Aršam concerning the disturbances in the course of which their temple was destroyed. That it was addressed to Aršam appears from a comparison of A:3/4 "when *our lord* Aršam had gone"; and C:9, 11, 12 "if it seem good to our lord," with No. 8=*APE* 1/2:4 | 5 "when Aršam had gone," and No. 3=*APE* 4:1 and 5 "To our lord Aršam(?)" The exact nature of the content is, of course, not quite clear. It may have been the very petition of the Elephantine Jews, which must have been sent to Aršam with the request for permission to rebuild their temple. It certainly did

¹ Lit. "to build it."

² Lit. "shall they (i.e., one) bring nigh"; cf. 1:25.

contain a series of requests, as C plainly shows, in spite of its fragmentary condition; and these requests had to do with the damages inflicted upon them and their temple in the disturbances of June-July 410. In fact, the requests are evidently based upon complaints made concerning this damage. But the complaints are not simple and direct; they are apologetic and defensive in tone. Accusations are being met by asseverations, denials, and countercharges. Between them and the permission to rebuild their temple there stood, not only the opposition of Egyptian priests to a Jahweh temple in their midst and the lukewarm attitude, if not the opposition, of their brethren in Judaea, but apparently, also, charges of disloyal and disorderly conduct, which were probably not wholly unfounded. They are preparing for a searching official investigation. Small wonder that they were seeking influential support from all possible directions. The exact date of this petition cannot be determined, because we do not know exactly when Aršam returned to Egypt. It must have been written soon after this return, before there had been time for an investigation. With relation to *APE* 1/2, No. 8, it seems to the writer to belong before, rather than after, this attempt to secure aid from Palestine. Their case before Aršam did not prosper. That is why they sought support, first from the high priest and the elders, then, sometime thereafter, from the political authorities. It follows *APE* 1/2 here, simply because its date is lacking.

Strassburg Papyrus:

A

. . . we (?) . . among companies¹ of the Egyptians they revolted, we
 2 did not leave our posts² | and no subversive act whatever occurred on
 our part. In the 14th year of Darius the king,³ when our lord Aršam |
 3 had gone unto the king, this is the treasonable offense⁴ which the shave-
 4 lings of the god Ḥnūb <committed> in Yeb the fortress | in collusion(?)⁴
 with *Ḳidrng* who was military governor here; money and goods they

¹ Or "troops"; see *APE* 35 (No. 14):2.

² I.e., on military or guard duty.

³ 410/409 B.C.

⁴ Or: "of the shavelings of the God Ḥnūb: They <made> in Yeb the fortress a riot (or plot)." The photograph shows only the personal ending "they" of the verb "made" or "committed," with a blank space before it. The restoration is practically certain.

5 gave him. There was a portion | of the s¹ of the king in Yeb the fortress, (which) they destroyed, and a wall was built in the *mnšḫt*(?)² of the fortress of Yeb.

B

and now that wall is built in the *mnšḫt*(?) of the fortress. There is a
2 well which was constructed³ | within the fortress, and it lacked not water
3 to supply⁴ the garrison, since, if they were *hndḫz* |, they were to drink
water from that well; those shavelings of Ḥnûb have stopped up that
4 well. If (the matter) be | verified by the judges, *ṭṭlāḫē*,⁶ (and) *gṣkḫē*⁷
5 who are appointed in the district of *Tšḫrs*⁸ |, (then) it will be apparent⁹
to our lord in accordance with this which we have said.¹⁰ Moreover,
cut off were we (*or* "we were segregated")

C (on verso of A)

thy(?) . . . (.) . . in (—? —)¹¹ of Yeb the f(ortress) . . . |
2/3 we and (?) between (?) | . . . if(?) there be not found
4/5 | the <Egyp>tians(?) to bring from | . . to
6/7/8 do¹² there to *ḫḫ*(?) | . . | . . | . . the woodwork; they took
9 and appropriated(?) | . . . if(?) it seem good¹³ to our lord, let
10/11 him(?) greatly . . . | . . we of the army . . | . . <to our l>ord it
12 seem good, let be placed (*or* established, *or* decreed) . . | . . we, if
13/14 unto our l<ord> . . | . . to (*or* for) anything, which . . . | . . which
belonged to us, which they destroyed . . .

¹ Reading uncertain; buildings or treasures or stores or papers?

² Perhaps "midst"; or *mfšḫt*, possibly "breach." The latter would seem to indicate at least a partial dismantling of the fortress by the Persians, a situation similar to that described in II Kings 14:13. The accusation of the Jews against the Egyptians would, in that case, rival that of the "Samaritans" against the Jews, Ezra 4:11-16. Torrey: "<they> built."

³ An Oriental well nearly always has some stone constructions, walls, benches, troughs, frequently an overhanging roof or shed about it; in any case the well itself was lined with stone, brick, or cement of some kind.

⁴ Lit. "give to drink to."

⁵ Perhaps "confined" (by siege or for similar reason), or "assembled" (on duty or for review or inspection).

⁶ Dan. 3:2, 3; AV "sheriffs," RV mg "lawyers"—exact meaning unknown.

⁷ Probably a Persian word, meaning "listeners," i.e., secret-service men.

⁸ Cf. No. 3 (*APE* 4):1, note 4.

⁹ Lit. "it will be known."

¹⁰ Some would translate: "we have said and (which) we have explained." This does violence to more than one word in the original.

¹¹ A word whose reading and meaning are very uncertain.

¹² Perhaps "to do service in sacrifices, etc."

¹³ Or "very good," "excellent."

NO. 11. REPLY FROM JEWS IN EGYPT, PROBABLY IN THE THEBAIS DISTRICT,
TO LETTERS CONTAINING A REQUEST FROM THE JEWISH
COMMUNITY AT YEB-ELEPHANTINE

This document, also, which may have played nearly as important a rôle in the affairs of the Jewish community of Elephantine as the three previous numbers, is unfortunately fragmentary, though not quite so badly mutilated as Strassb. About one-half, more or less, of all but one (line 16, the two closing words of the letter proper) of its seventeen lines is missing. The date, too, if it ever had any beyond the day of the month mentioned in line 15 (cf. No. 5=*APE* 11), is lost.

The more intimate character of the letter and its consequent discursiveness and allusiveness make it even more obscure than the more fragmentary Strassb. Bribes given by an Egyptian or Egyptians remind one of the days preceding the catastrophe at Yeb. But bribes were given later as well, cf. No. 8=*APE* 1/2: 28 f. The trouble has been carried before Aršam; somebody, Egyptians or Jews, takes comfort in the thought that a Mazda worshiper has been appointed to some office; a man, apparently a Jew, has been placed under arrest, it would seem; Aršam is annoyed and not altogether favorably disposed; somebody denies a charge before him; somebody is to make a plea before him. This much is tolerably clear. Also, the trouble does not seem to weigh heavily on the writers, be they at Thebes, or at Abydos (where some Jews seem to have been settled; cf. No. 5=*APE* 11), or elsewhere; "we are well here," say they. The Jews of Yeb seem to be more intimately concerned with it; cf. line 16 and the statement at the beginning of line 11, whose meaning, however, is anything but certain. What the "rations," or "wages," or whatever it may be, in lines 3 and 12 have to do with the affair, is utterly obscure. No less obscure is the cryptic line 10; the destruction of skins may indicate a trans-action of a shady character. As a bare possibility, no more, the translator would suggest that these may have been skins of mummified beasts, perhaps rams of Khnum, or cats, or what not, which the Jews of Yeb in their counterrevolt may have robbed, as an act of vengeance for the destruction of their sanctuary.

In any case, the translator thinks it preferable to classify this undated papyrus with the undated material after the riot at Elephantine, when the Jews are known to have had just such troubles, as those above indicated, before Aršam, rather than to assign to it a still more hazardous position at some unknown period previous to the events of July, 410.

APE Pap. 10 (P. 13468):

- 1 To my lords *Idnīh*, *M^cuzīh*, Uriah, and the army your servant. |
- 2 may they provide for always.¹ We are well here. To proceed: On
- 3 every day, when (*or of*) | he received *ptīprsn*² one *zīuk*,³ he
- 4 received *ptīprs* |⁴ there is to us, because the Egyptian gave
- 5 a bribe. Therefore we have given a price (*or value of* | of
- the Egyptian(s?) before Aršam.⁶ Therefore stealthily(?) did they (*or*

¹ The well-known formula: "May God (*or* the gods) provide for your welfare always." The plural of the verb with the plural of god is decidedly curious in a letter written by a Jew of this time to coreligionists; yet see *APE* 12:1; also 13:1; 43:1. In No. 3 = *APE* 4, written by largely or wholly non-Jewish bodies of officials to a probably non-Jewish superior, this, if it were assured, would be much less striking.

² The meaning of this word is unknown; it bears some similarity to a word found in Dan. 1:5, 8, 13, 15 f.; 11:26, there rendered "dainties," originally simply "rations." So far as there is any context, this meaning would not be inappropriate here. *ptīprsn* may thus mean "(of) rations" or "(as) our ration"; *ptīprs*, "a ration" or "the ration of." Others: "wages"; still others: a unit of measure.

³ Almost certainly a unit of measure, value or capacity unknown.

⁴ Supply "trouble."

⁵ Some read: "because the Egyptians are giving to them (*fem.*; *sic!*) a bribe (*or* bribes) (to) a value of" Instead of "a price (*or* value) of" the photograph may be read: "and since. . . ."

⁶ For the dating of this document, whose date is lost, this name makes it certain that the events therein described, so far as they had to do with Aršam, did not take place in June-July, 410, nor for some little time before and after this date, "when Aršam had . . . gone unto the king," No. 8 = *APE* 1:4, 5; No. 10 = Strassb. A:2, 3. The bribes of the Egyptian(s?) and their apparent hostility remind one of the trouble brewing since 419/8 (cf. No. 5 = *APE* 11 together with No. 4 = 6; No. 6 = 7; 1/2; and Strassb.), which culminated at Yeb-Elephantine in the great catastrophe of 410. To a point in this period near 410, when these troubles were coming to a head, this letter is frequently assigned. But Aršam had returned to Egypt by 406/7 (cf. No. 9 = *APE* 3); we do not know exactly when. His stay this time was not a long one, as Egypt was lost to Persia about 405/4, and Persian rule there remained in abeyance during the long reign of Artaxerxes II Mnemon, 405/4-359; but it was a busy one. The Jews of Yeb were evidently importuning him, as were their adversaries, the Egyptians (and Persian officials?). And there were investigations to make. This letter is written to the Jews of Yeb and their leaders, precisely the men who were

6 we) act. Also(?) | the district of Thebes(?),¹ and thus do
 they say (or we said): A Mazda-worshiper² (is) he, appointed for the
 7 district | we fear, because we are small in money(?).³ Now,
 8 behold, ? | Even if we had not revealed our faces unto Aršam
 9 formerly, yet not thus | he will speak our(?) words before

especially interested in the Jahweh-temple at Yeb and its service. It is a reply to "letters" which seemingly contained a request (cf. especially lines 15 f.). The point of the reply seems to be that the writers will do their best, but that one must not expect too much of them, because they have not much money (?), and because, on account of a previous rather annoying appearance before him, they are not sure of a favorable reception before Aršam. Now, the period when the Jews of Yeb needed and sought all manner of support before Aršam, their satrap, was exactly this period after the disturbances of 410. Three or four requests for such support from outside of Egypt are indicated in *APE* 1/2, which is itself a petition for similar support in their attempt to secure permission from Aršam for the rebuilding of their temple and the restoration of its sacrificial service. There is, indeed, no mention made of the temple at Yeb in the fragment preserved (about one-half, more or less) of this papyrus, whereas other matters not wholly clear *are* mentioned. This is, of course, not proof positive that this temple and its sacrifices were not mentioned in the missing portion. But whether this was the case or not, the Jews of Yeb needed support before the satrap in many other matters at this time. Their case was not a simple request for permission to rebuild their temple and to resume its service; it was much more complicated than that. It was connected with charges against the Egyptians and Persian officials, but manifestly also with countercharges made by these against the Jews of Yeb themselves. The Strassburg Papyrus, probably a report, petition, or defense, addressed by the Jews of Yeb to Aršam himself, exhibits a decidedly controversial and apologetic tone. And the skirts of the Jewish soldiers were not wholly clear: *APE* 1/2 exhibit signs of insubordination to their Persian commanders. In their own charges in these matters and in their defense against the countercharges they would most naturally seek aid and corroboration from their brethren in Egypt, perhaps of a neighboring district; cf. line 6. It seems most natural, therefore, to correlate this written reply to the unwritten reply of Bagohi, *APE* 3 = No. 9, and, without being dogmatic about its exact date, to place it with the material after 410, when conditions apparently presupposed by it are known to have existed, rather than to assume that at another time similar conditions existed, of which we know nothing. These are the considerations which led the present translator to assign to this document a place after the likewise dateless Strassburg Papyrus.

¹ N(o)ḡ, Thebes; see note 4 on No. 3 = *APE* 4:1. It is possible also to read the photograph, not Nḡ, but -n(ḏ)ḡ which, connected with the preceding word, would mean "our district." This, as opposed to the district of the addressees, Tšḥrs, might very well be the Thebais in any case, since this is the only district beside Tšḥrs which is mentioned in these documents.

² *Mzdīzn*, probably Mazdaīazn(ian), i.e., a worshiper of Mazda; others consider the word a proper name.

³ Despite the misgivings of translators, it seems, after all, quite possible to read: "we fear, because we are small, spoliation," or, simply, "robbery."

10 Aršam persuasively(?)¹ calming our faces | ye will find
 honey(?) ? ?² we have destroyed the skins of the fur of³ |
 11/12 ? ?⁴ *Psu* the son of *Mnkš* came to Memphis, and | and the
 13 *ptprs*,⁶ and he gave me the sum of 12 staters⁷ and one? |⁸ *Hûri*
 gave me, when they detained(?) him. Thereupon⁹ said *Tîrîb*? |
 14 in the company(?) of the king, and were detained (or were restraining,
 or we restrained or he restrained us). Therefore Aršam was annoyed
 15 and *S* . . . denied¹⁰ | and *Hûri*, whom they had detained. On
 16 the 6th day of Phaophi came the letters | we will carry out
 17 (*lit.* do) the affair (or word). | To my lords *Iḏnîh*,¹¹ *Mʿyziḥ*, and

NO. 12. COMMUNICATION BY THE LEADERS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AT
 ELEPHANTINE TO A SATRAP OR GOVERNOR

Another cryptic fragment. It is not an ordinary letter in form. Nor is it a petition, as is sometimes confidently maintained; it is

¹ This may be a proper noun, the name of the speaker, *Pisn*; this is suggested, but by no means made certain, by *APE* 13:2.

² For the first word, though it is clearly legible, *tqm*, the translator has no suggestion to offer. For the second "wrapped up" has been hesitatingly suggested. This would be a pure Hebraism. Much more likely, in view of what follows, is a derivative from a root, which does occur in Aramaic, whose meaning is "to creep stealthily." A derivative from this root, very similar to the one here used, is found in Talmud and Targums in the meaning "cat." Therefore, here perhaps "cats," or, since this is Egypt, "Egyptian weasels," "ichneumons."

³ The only reason why this translation has not been offered before—at least, not to the translator's knowledge—is that it is too simple and does not offer sufficiently important information. What followed after "fur" must have been the name of some animal: "skins of . . . fur."

⁴ The best suggestion offered, though it is not absolutely certain, is: "they are full of wrath against you"; cf. *APE* 13:4; similarly Ezek. 16:30 should probably be read: I am full of wrath against thee, saith the Lord. . .

⁵ The first possibly, the second certainly, a Babylonian name. Both occur several times in these papyri.

⁶ See note on line 3.

⁷ Double-shekels, 11.2 g. silver each, *ca.* \$0.55; cf. *APA* L; *APE* 35=No. 14.

⁸ I Chron. 5:14; supply before the name: "which (X, son of?)."

⁹ Others: "according to the cor (*a Hebrew measure*). Said," etc.; not good Aramaic.

¹⁰ Or: "lest both Aršam should be annoyed and *S* . . . should deny." Others: "Aršam adjudged both damages and expiation"; this would be poor Aramaic from every point of view.

¹¹ Here only so written. This has caused some scholars to reject the more commonly accepted pronunciations Jedoniah, or Jedaniah for Jôdaniah; but in Aramaic writing this would more probably indicate the pronunciation Jêdaniah. Line 17 is the address.

not at all similar to *APE* 1/2 (No. 8) and Strassb. (No. 10), both of which are petitions in good form. Yet it seems to be addressed to a superior; the address "our lord" points to a satrap or governor. And it manifestly contains a request, a request, moreover, which has to do with the restitution of the temple-service at Yeb. Whether the request is for complete service, instead of partial service only (incense and meal offering; cf. No. 9 = *APE* 3); or whether it be for partial service, at any rate, since complete service cannot be secured, it is impossible to ascertain. In the former case it might very well be addressed to Bagohi or Delayah in answer to their reply, No. 9 (*APE* 3). In the latter case the addressee would more probably be Aršam the satrap. In any case the gist of the letter seems to the translator to be contained in the last two lines. The most probable supposition is that this is a note offering a bribe supplementary to a petition.

APE Pap. 5 (P. 13472):

1/2 Thy servants, *Idniḥ* the son of Gem <ariah?¹ by> name: 1, | *M^cuzi²*
 3 the son of Nathan by name <: 1,> | Shema'iah³ the son of Haggai⁴ by
 4/5 name: 1, | Hosea the son of *Itum* by name: 1, | Hosea the son of *Ntun*
 6 by name: 1, altogether 5 men, | Syennese,⁵ who are gu <ar>ds(?)⁶ in

¹ Cf. No. 13 (*APE* 15): 5.

² Cf. *APE* 10 (No. 11): 1, 17; *APE* 11 (No. 5): 2, 12; perhaps also *APE* 34: 3.

³ I Kings 12: 22 (late legend; see Comm.); Jer. 29: 24, 31 f.; Ezra 8: 13, 16; 10: 31; Neh. 3: 29 and *passim*; Chronicles, *passim*.

⁴ Hag. 1: 1, etc.; Ezra 5: 1.

⁵ I.e., of Syene (Assuān).

⁶ The reading is not very certain. If it be right, this is the word, used in similar connection in *APA*, D: 2; *APE* 27: 2, and, perhaps, also in *RES* I, 247. It cannot mean, as is constantly assumed, "owner of property." The verb in the form, of which this is a participle, does not mean "to own," but "to guard, to have or retain charge of," cf. note on No. 7 (*APE* 8): 3. The introduction of the meaning "owner of property" in the places above quoted has been peculiarly unfortunate. It is in all these places a technical term connected with service "in a fortress," and is twice followed by the designation of the troop or company, to which the individual designated by it belonged. "Owner of property" would be wholly inappropriate. "Guard" is the only possible meaning; whether this means simply a member of the troops guarding the fortress or whatever frontier or other dangerous position the fortress is meant to protect, or whether it designates a man as detailed to some special guard duty or belonging to a special corps d'élite, or as appointed to some slightly higher rank than a mere private, cannot be said with certainty. Its infrequent use, in two cases (here and *APA*, D: 2) of persons known to be of some consequence, makes for the last supposition. Cf. also No. 6 = *APE* 7: 2, note 2.

7/8 Yeb the fortress, | say thus: If our lord , | and that
 9 temple of Iḥy the god which | in Yeb the for-
 10 tress as aforetime (it was built ?), | and sheep (?), oxen, goats, *mqlw*¹ shall
 11 not(?) be offered² there, | but (only ?) incense, meal offering
 12 | and our lord *ʾwdys*³ ma(ke?) |
 13/14 give(?) unto the house of our lord | a
 th<ousand?> *artabae* of barley

NO. 13. A NOTE OR LETTER CONCERNING ACTS OF VIOLENCE

This is the most tantalizing of the Elephantine fragments. If the writer is not wholly mistaken, it contains chronologically the last mention made of the religious leaders of the Elephantine Jews in these documents. It is the only document containing their names, which is neither addressed to them nor written by their hands. The only possible place for it in point of time is, to the translator's mind, just this place between the last years of Darius II and the first years of Amyrtaeus, the king in whose reign the following document, No. 14 (*APE* 35), was written. The reasons for this opinion are set forth in greater detail in the notes.

APE Pap. 15 (P. 13471):

1 (the lower ends of a number of letters only)
 2 | Ḥnûm. Behold
 3 these are the names of the women who |
 <im>prisoned:⁴ *Dmî* (or *Rmî*), wife of *Hwdy*,⁵ *ʾsršwt*,⁶ wife of Hosea,⁷
 4 *Plwl*,⁸ wife of *Islh*, *Rî* | *Šbî*,⁹ daughter of Meshullam,¹⁰ *Bryb*
 (or *Qwb*), his sister. Behold, the names of the men who were found in

¹ An unknown term; perhaps a general term for a sacrifice in which a portion was burnt or roasted.

² Lit. "made."

³ Meaning unknown.

⁴ Or: "-*sirn*"; perhaps a proper noun in whole or in part, the name of the husband of a woman previously mentioned.

⁵ Cf. I Chron. 3:24; 5:24; 9:7; Ezra 2:40; Neh. 7:43; also I Chron. 4:19; Neh. 8:7; 9:5; 10:11, 14, 19.

⁶ A compound with Osiris?

⁷ See line 5.

⁸ Cf. Neh. 3:25; 11:12.

⁹ Zibiah, II Kings 12:1; II Chron. 24:1; cf. I Chron. 8:9.

¹⁰ II Kings 22:3; Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, *passim*; also *APA* and *APE*, *passim*.

5 the gate *bn*² and were slain (? or seized) | *Idn*², son of
 Gemariah,² Hosea, son of *Itum*,³ Hosea, son of *Ntūm*, Haggai,⁴ his
 6 brother, *ḥiū*,⁵ son of *M* | the houses into which they had
 entered in Yeb;⁶ and the goods which they had taken,⁷ they(?) were
 returned unto their owners. But they remembered(?) the(?) lord
 7 | *krš* 120. Further(?) a decree(?) no more(?) shall be(?),
 but here the welfare of thy house and thy children, until(?) the gods
 shall show us(?)⁸

NO. 14. AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF DEBT

A most remarkable document. A simple IOU. But it is dated in the fifth year of "Amyrtaeus, the king." This is doubtless the Amyrtaeus, who in Manetho's dynasties constitutes in his own person the whole of the 28th dynasty, which follows the reign of

¹ Perhaps: "in No²," i.e., Thebes; on their way out of Egypt? or name of a gate? in Elephantine?

² Jer. 29:3; 36:10 ff., 25; cf. No. 12 (*APE* 5):1.

³ Cf. I Chron. 11:46; see also No. 12 (*APE* 5):4, and for the following name, *ibid.*, line 5.

⁴ For these names, prominent in the Jewish community at Elephantine, see the foregoing papyri, especially No. 12=*APE* 5; for Haggai in particular, see No. 12, line 3.

⁵ II Sam. 6:3 f.; I Chron. 8:14, 31; 9:37; 13:7.

⁶ This explicit mention of Yeb after all makes it not improbable that above, in line 4, No²=Thebes is to be read.

⁷ Were these men following the instructions of Exod. 12:1-36? Here was a real opportunity for the Israelites to "despoil the Egyptians."

⁸ This papyrus, which in its present state unfortunately bears no date, was written by an extremely illiterate scribe. The reason for the many questions, especially in the last few lines, lies both in poor handwriting and in poor grammar. Yet sinister meaning does hover about the uncouth and incoherent phrases, clearer meaning, the translator believes, than is generally admitted. The footnotes to the previous lines indicate the events which to his mind are pretty clearly suggested. Line 7 may mean that Persian rule has come to an end, but that it was still possible for a Jew to live and prosper in Egypt under the new state of affairs. The following document shows clearly that this really was the case. The writer of the present screed was probably an Aramaean, i.e., a foreigner; the language used, however poorly its writing was mastered, clearly shows this much. And he was a Jew, or whence his interest in these people? Palestinian echoes of the history and fate of these people, with which the papyri put us into immediate contact, are found in Isa. 52:4(?); Deut. 17:16(?); Isa. 19; Ezek. 30(?); and Joel 3:19. It is, of course, possible that the word, here translated "decree," may mean a number of different things, and that the last clause is a mere clumsy expression, commending the house and children of the addressee to God or the gods.

Darius II. The exact year to which this refers cannot be determined; 400 or 399 will not be wrong by more than a year or two. The Persians have disappeared from Egypt; a satrap rules there no longer. The temple of ʾḥy at Yeb is not; even if “ʾḏnḥ and his associates” finally succeeded in winning the satrap’s consent to the rebuilding—of which we have no evidence—there was no time for the building. There is not a scintilla of evidence that there was such a temple after 410 B.C. There is nothing to indicate that “ʾḏnḥ and his associates” were in Egypt any longer, no sign that they were any longer in the land of the living; there is evidence which suggests strongly that the Egyptians in turn “had seen vengeance upon them.” But there are still Jews in Egypt, borrowing and lending money, “marrying and giving in marriage.” They are still of the garrison of Elephantine, and belong to the same “companies” to which they belonged in the days of the first Artaxerxes and of the second Darius. The “Foreign Legion” could change masters, evidently, almost as easily as in the days of the Diadochi. And with all obstacles, those from within and those from without their own people, removed, and with the times uncertain in Egypt, the day was approaching for propagandists like Hananiah (No. 4 = *APE* 6; No. 5 = *APE* 11) to reap their harvest, although this harvest was not quite what they expected.

APE Pap. 35 (P. 13476):

On the XXI < . . of Phamen > oth, year 5 of Amyrtaeus,¹ the king. At
2 that time | said < Menahem >,² son of . . um,³ Aramaean of Yeb, the
3 fortress, belonging to the colors⁴ of *Nbḥkdri*,⁵ | to *Šly* . . ,⁶ daughter of

¹ On this Amyrtaeus see Griffith and Poole, *Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., Vol. IX, p. 88, col. 1 mid. (article “Egypt”); and Ed. Meyer, *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 211, col. 2, end of second paragraph (article “Persia”). The date of this papyrus is very probably near 400.

² II Kings 15:14 ff.

³ Perhaps Shallum, as in the fragment, *APE* 32:1. This name occurs in the Old Testament, Jer. 22:11; II Kings 15:10, and thereafter throughout the historical books.

⁴ A unit of the Persian army; exact size unknown; roughly equivalent to the modern company. The designation of this unit remains the same under the Egyptian king. Cf. *APA* and *APE*, *passim*.

⁵ A Babylonian name: Nabû-kudurri. These companies were named after persons; their founders? first or present commanders? Cf. *APA*, *passim*. This very company occurs, *APE* 27:3 (Artaxerxes I, year 4=461/0) and 29:2 (Darius II, year 15+=409/8-). The hope of the writer of No. 13 = *APE* 15:7 was not disappointed.

⁶ Cf. Num. 25:14; I Chron. 9:7; Neh. 11:7; 12:7, 20. See also l. 10.

4 *S. 4h*, as follows: I owe you the sum of 2 sh(ekels), | i.e., the su<m of>
 5 1 stater,¹ of the sum total in money and goods which (is written)
 upon thy | marriage-
 6 contract. I, Menahem, will give it and pay thee in full by | the 30th
 7 of Pharmuthi, year 5 of Amyrtaeus, the king | and
 I (shall?) have given thee this sum, 2 <sh>ekels <i.e., 1> stater,
 8 this <sum>, which is written above shall(?) have(?) fallen
 9 due(?) on <the ? of Pa>chons | thy money the sum
 10 of <2> shek<els>, i.e., the su<m> of 1 <stat>er |
Slw^h . . . The remainder of this papyrus is very fragmentary, so that
 only a few disconnected words can be made out: barley, this, 3 shekels, to
 the head (*or* foreman) of.²

¹ Cf. No. 11 = *APE* 10:12; *APA* L.

² Cf. No. 7 = *APE* 8:9.

[*To be continued*]